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circumstance which we have already noticed towards the commencement of this article. *Ikhshîd* was the title borne by these sovereigns; it signifies *king of kings* (6). It was thus they gave to the king of Persia the title of Kisra (*Chosroes*), to the king of the Turks that of Khâkân, to the king of the Romans that of Kaisar (*Cæsar*), to the king of Syria that of Heracl (*Heraclius*), to the king of Yemen that of Tobba, to the king of Abyssina that of an-Najâshi, etc. (7). *Kaisar* is a Frankish word, signifying: *delivered by means of an incision* (8). He was so called because his mother died in childbirth, and he was extracted through an incision made in the womb. This was a circumstance in which he vaunted his pre-eminence over other kings, in as much as he had not been born of woman. His name was Oghustus (*Augustus*); he was the first king of the Romans, and it is said that, in the forty-third year of his reign, the blessed Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary (*al-Masîh Isa Ibn Maryam*) was born. Others say that Jesus was born in the seventeenth year of his reign. Therefore it was that the kings of the Romans were called by the name of *Kaisar*. In the prayers offered up from the pulpits for Muhammad Ibn Toghj, he was designated by the title of *al-Ikhshîd*; he thus became known by it and it served him as a proper name. Al-Ikhshîd was a resolute prince, displaying great foresight in war, and a close attention to the prosperity of his empire; he treated the military class with honour, and he governed with ability and justice. His bodily strength was so great that he made use of a bow which none but himself could draw. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni (*v. I. page 405*) says, in his lesser historical work entitled: *Oyân as-Sîar* (*sources of history*), that his army consisted of four hundred thousand men, that he was a coward, and had eight thousand mamlûks. Two thousand of them guarded him every night, and, when travelling, his eunuchs were posted around his tent; yet, not trusting to these precautions, he would go to the tents occupied by the tent-pitchers (*farrâshiyân*) and sleep there. He continued in his government and the enjoyment of good fortune till the year 334, when he died at Damascus, on the fourth hour of Friday, the 21st of Zû 'l-Hijja (July, A. D. 946). His corpse was borne to Jerusalem and interred in that city. Abû 'l-Hasain ar-Râzi (*vol. I. p. 100*), says that he died A. H. 335; God knows best! His birth took place on Monday, the 15th of Rajab, A. H. 268 (February, A. D. 882), at Baghdad, in the street leading to the Kûfa Gate (*Shârî bâb il-Kâfa*). Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdî





and Fâtik al-Majnûn were slaves of his: in the preceding part of this work (*vol. II. pages 453 and 524*) we have allotted a separate article to each of these two persons. On the death of al-Ikhshid, his sons Abû 'l-Kâsim Anûjûr and Abû 'l-Hasan were taken charge of by his servant Kâfûr, who conscientiously discharged that duty. We need not mention here the dates of their birth and death, nor the length of their reign, as we have already given a brief indication of these points in the life of Kâfûr; we have also related the history of the latter up to the time of his death, and, after stating that the military then placed Abû 'l-Fawâris Ahmad, the son of Ali, the son of al-Ikhshid, on the throne, we referred to the present article for the remainder of our observations. As Abû 'l-Fawâris Ahmad was only eleven years of age, they established as his lieutenant in the administration of the state his father's cousin, Abû Muhaminad al-Husain Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Toghj Ibn Juff, the lord of Ramla in Syria and the same person whose praises were celebrated by al-Mutanabbi in the *kasîda* which commences thus :

I should reproach myself were I conscious, when my companions blame (*me for yielding to affliction*), of all (*the grief*) I feel in the midst of these ruined dwellings (9).

In the same piece, he enters into his subject by means of the following transition :

When I attack the foe, I leave no resistance for (*other*) warriors to vanquish; when I utter (*verses*), I leave no maxim for (*other*) sages to adduce. If this be not the case, my poetic talent has deceived me, and want of resolution has hindered me from (*doing fit honour to the merit of*) Ibn Obaid Allah!

The following passage from the same poem is really beautiful :

I see at the foot of the region which extends from the Euphrates to Barka (10), a combat in which the steeds trample on warriors' heads; I see lances wielded by princes whose hands must have known the spear before they knew the bracelet (11). On every side, that troop is guarded against the foe by the swords of the sons of Toghj Ibn Juff, those gallant chieftains. 'Tis they who nobly return to the charge in the tumult of battle, and yet more nobly do they return to acts of generosity! 'Tis they who grant a generous pardon to the guilty; 'tis they who pay the fine (*of blood*) for him who is amerced. Modest in their deportment, yet, when they encounter an adversary, they face, but not with modesty, the edge of the sword. Were lions not too vile, I should compare these heroes to them, but lions are creatures of an inferior class.





bain as-Sahihain the united contents of the *Sahîhs*, of al-Bukhârî and Muslim; this production he taught publicly. Another of his works is a history of the learned men of Spain, to which he gave the title of *Judwa tal-Muktabis* (a brand for him who wishes to light his fire), and which forms one volume. In the preface, he mentions that he wrote it from memory at the request of some persons in Baghdad. He used to say: "There are three points connected with the study of the "Traditions to which, first of all, attention should be directed; namely: the " (1) motives of the Prophet's sayings, and the best treatise thereon is " that of ad-Dârakutni (vol. II. p. 239); the *Matalif wa Mukhtalif* (synonymy of " proper names), and the best work on the subject is that of the emir Abû Nasr " Ibn Mâkûla; the third point is, to know the precise date of each traditionist's " death, but on this we possess no work. I undertook to compile one on the " subject, and the emir told me to draw it up in chronological order and, under each year, to arrange the names alphabetically."—"But," says Abû Bakr " Ibn Tarkhân (2), his attention was so much engaged by the two *Sahîhs*, that " he died without being able to execute that task." The same person relates as follows: "Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi recited to us the following verses composed by himself:

" Visiting (learned) men produces nothing useful; all we gain by it is (that we may " afterwards repeat their words under) the stupid form of an *it is said*, or *such a one said*.  
 " Visit them therefore but seldom; unless it be to acquire knowledge or amend thy " conduct."

Al-Humaidi met the Khatib Abû Bakr (vol. I. p. 75) at Damascus, and has given some information on his authority; and his own authority is occasionally cited by the Khatib. He was born some time before the year 420 (A. D. 1029), and he died at Baghdad on the eve of Tuesday, the 17th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 488 (December, A. D. 1095.) As-Samâni says, in his *Ansûb*, under the word *al-Mayûrki* (belonging to Majorca), that al-Humaidi's death took place in the month of Safar, A. H. 494; so at least I found it written in the abridgment which Ali Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari (vol. II. p. 289) composed of that work. Suspecting this to be a fault of my own copy, I examined the passage in a number of other manuscripts, and found them all to agree; as-Samâni's original work, of which we possess Ibn al-Athîr's abridgment, I had no means of consulting, as it was not to be found in this country (Egypt). The great discordance of these

two dates remained upon my mind, and having at length consulted as-Samâni's *Supplement*, I met the following passage: "Al-Humaidi died on the eve of Tuesday, the 17th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 488, and was interred the next morning in the cemetery at the Abrez gate, near the tomb of Abû Ishak as-Shî-râzi. The funeral prayer was said over the corpse in the great mosque of the citadel (*Jâmi' 'l-Kâsr*), by the jurisconsult Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad as-Shâshi (*vol. II. p. 625*); but, in the month of Safar, A. H. 491, it was removed to the cemetery at the Harb gate and buried near the tomb of Bishr Ibn al-Hârith al-Hâfi (*vol. I. p. 257*).” By this I perceived that the fault originated with Ibn al-Athîr whilst he was making his abridgment; the copy of the work which he was then condensing may have here offered a fault of the transcriber, and Ibn al-Athîr copied it without searching for the date in other quarters; or perhaps the copyist may have omitted a line, a circumstance which sometimes happens.—*Al-Humaidi* was so called after his ancestor *Humaid*: I have been informed by an historical writer that he found this surname mentioned, in a work on history, as being derived from the name of *Humaid*, the son of Abd ar-Rahmân, the son of Aâf (3); but this derivation is false, for Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi belonged to the tribe of Azd, and Abd ar-Rahmân to the Zuhra family, a branch of the tribe of Koraish: how then could any relationship have subsisted between them? — *Mayârka* (*Majorca*) is the name of an island in the Western Sea, near the land of Spain.

(1) The life of this *hâfiz* is given by our author.

(2) Abû Bakr Ibn Tarkhân was one of the masters under whom Ibn al-Arabi studied at Baghdad.—(*Silat*.)

(3) Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Aâf az-Zubri, an eminent member of the tribe of Koraish and one of the eight first converts to Islamism, was also one of the ten persons to whom Muhammad promised paradise. Before his conversion he bore the name of Abd al-Knaba. During the persecution, he took refuge in Abyssinia. He fought at the combat of Badr and at all the other engagements in which Muhammad commanded; at the battle of Uhud, he received a severe wound in the leg, and halted ever after. In the lifetime of Muhammad he acted as *mufti*. On the death of Omar, he was one of the six delegates (*ashâb az-Shâra*) appointed to make choice of another khalif. His birth took place ten years after the year of the Elephant; he died at Meclua, A. H. 32 (A.D. 632-3), at the age of seventy-five, and was interred in the *Baki* cemetery. He had acquired great wealth in mercantile pursuits. On one occasion, he contributed half his property to the service of Islamism; another time, he sold land to the value of forty thousand dinars and bestowed the amount on the poor. He equipped also five hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot for the cause of religion. On his death, the eighth part of his estate, the share allotted by law to be divided among the widows of the deceased, amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand (*pieces of silver*).—(*Siar az-Salaf. — Al-Bahr az-Zakhir.*)

AL-MAZARI<sup>1</sup> AL-MALIKI.

Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad at-Tamimi (*member of the tribe of Tamīm*) al-Māzari was a doctor of the sect of Mālik and one of the most noted persons of the age for his knowledge of the Traditions and the manner in which he lectured on that subject. He composed a good commentary on Muslim's *Saḥīḥ* and entitled it *Kitāb al-Molīm bi fauḥid kitāb Muslim* (*the indicator of the instructive passages contained in the book of Muslim*); this work served the *kādi* Iyād (*vol. II. p. 447*) as the basis of his *Ikmāl*, which is, in fact, the complement of al-Māzari's treatise. He composed also a number of literary works and a book called *Iddḥ al-Maḥsūl fī Burhān il-Osūl* (1). This doctor, so highly distinguished for his talents and varied information, died at al-Mahdiyya (*in the province of Tunis*) on the 18th of the first Rabi, A. H. 536 (October, A. D. 1144), aged eighty-three years. Some place his death on Monday, the second day of that month.—*Māzari* means *belonging to Māzar* (*Mazzara*), a village in the island of Sicily.

(1) This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa; its title seems to indicate that it was a commentary on a work of divinity or jurisprudence, entitled: *Burhān al-Osūl*.

## ABU MUSA AL-ISPAHANI.

Abū Mūsā Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr Omar Ibn Abi Isa Ahmad Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Isa al-Ispahāni al-Madini, the first *ḥāfiẓ* of the age for his vast memory and learning, composed a number of useful works on the Traditions and their subsidiary sciences. His *Kitāb al-Mughāth* (*the assister*), in one volume, forms the complement of al-Harawi's *Kitāb al-Gharībain* (*vol. I. page 78*); in it he corrects the faults of that author, and it is really a useful book.

He left also a small volume entitled *Kitāb az-Ziādat* (*book of additions*), designed by him as a supplement to the *Ansāb*, a work composed by his master Abū 'l-Faḍl Muhammad Ibn Tāhīr al-Makdisī (4): in this treatise he indicates the errors and omissions of the *Ansāb*. After travelling abroad in search of Traditions, he returned to Ispahān and continued to reside in that city. He was born in the month of Zū 'l-Kaada, A. H. 501 (June-July, A. D. 4108), and he died on the eve of Wednesday, the 9th of the first Jumāda, A. H. 581 (August, A. D. 4185). His birth and death took place at Ispahān.—*Madīni* means *belonging to the city (madina) of Ispahān*; the ḥāfiẓ Abū 's-Saad as-Samānī states, in his *Ansāb*, that this adjective may mean: 1. *belonging to Medīna*; 2. *belonging to Marw*; 3. *belonging to Noisāpūr*; 4. *belonging to Ispahān*; 5. *belonging to the city (madina) of al-Mubārak near Kazwīn*; 6. *belonging to Bukhāra*; 7. *belonging to Samarkand*; 8. *belonging to Nasaf*. He adds that, to express *belonging to Medīna*, the relative adjective *Madani* is generally used.

(4) See the next article.

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#### ABU 'L-FADL IBN AL-KAISARANI AL-MAKDISI.

Abū 'l-Faḍl Muhammad Ibn Tāhīr Ibn Ali Ibn Aḥmad al-Makdisī, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Kaisarānī, was one of those doctors who had undertaken long journeys in search of Traditions. He heard (*traditional information delivered*) in Hijāz, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and its northern borders, Arabian and Persian Irāk, Fars, Khūzestān, and Khorāsān. He then took up his abode in Hamadān and obtained a high reputation for his knowledge of the Traditions and his learning in the sciences connected with them. A great number of works and compilations were drawn up by him on that subject, and they all serve to prove the extent of his learning and the correctness of his information. He composed the *Atrāf* (*index of the principal words*) of the *Six Books*, that is to say, of the *Saḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abi Dāwūd, at-Tirmidī, an-Nasāi and Ibn Māja; the *Atrāf* of ad-Dāraḳutnī's *al-Gharāib*



obscure terms occurring in the Traditions), and the *Kitāb al-Anṣab* (book of patronymics). This last work forms a small volume, and is the same for which the *hāfiz* Abū Mūsa al-Ispahāni (see the preceding article,) composed a supplement. He possessed a sound knowledge of the science of *Sūfism* and its different divisions; there even exists a work by him on the subject. He left also some good poetry. The *hāfiz* Abū Mūsa and some others wrote Traditions under his dictation. Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Makḍisī was born at *Bait 'al-Makḍis* (the house of the holy place, Jerusalem), on the 6th of Shawwāl, A. H. 448 (December, A. D. 1056); he commenced learning Traditions in 460; he entered Baghdad in 467 (A. D. 1074-5) and afterwards returned to Jerusalem, where he assumed the pilgrim-dress and proceeded to Mekka. He died at Baghdad on Friday, the 28th of the first Rabi, A. H. 507 (September, A. D. 1113), on his return from the pilgrimage, which duty he had fulfilled more than once. His body was interred in the Old Cemetery (*al-Makbara al-Atika*), situated on the west bank of the Tigris. Some place his death on Thursday, the 20th of the month just named. — His son Abū Zara Tāhir Ibn Muhammad al-Makḍisī was renowned for the extent and high authority of his information in the Traditions, but he was unacquainted with the science (of jurisprudence); his father having merely sent him, when a boy, to hear the lessons of some (*Traditionists*), such as Abū Muhammad Abd ar-Rahmān Ibn Ahmad ad-Dūbi, who was then teaching at Rai, Abū 'l-Faḥr Abdūs Ibn Abd Allāh at Hamadān, Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Othmān al-Kāmikhi, and Abū 'l-Hasan Makki Ibn Mansūr as-Sallār. He then took him to Baghdad, where he heard the lessons of Abū 'l-Kāsim Alī Ibn Ahmad Ibn Raiyān and other masters. On the death of his father, he went to reside at Hamadān, whence he proceeded to Baghdad (every year) to see the pilgrim caravan and teach the greater part of the Traditions which he had learned. Amongst those who received Traditions from him were the vizir Abū 'l-Muzaḥḥar Yahya Ibn Hubaira (1) and others. He was born at Rai, A. H. 481 (A. H. 1088-9), and he died at Hamadān on Wednesday, the 7th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 566 (December, A. D. 1170). — *Kaisardni* means belonging to *Kaisariya* (Cæsarea), a maritime village of Syria which is now in the hands of the Franks (2); whom God confound!

(1) Aḥn ad-dīn Abū 'l-Muzaḥḥar Yahya Ibn Hubaira, vizir to the khalif al-Muktafi Nisr III, was born at ad-Dūr, a village situated in the province of Dujail, and afterwards called, on his account, Dūr al-Wazīr (the

*mansion of the vizir*). His father, a husbandman of that place, encouraged him to pursue the study of literature, and took him occasionally to Baghdad, where he attended the most eminent masters. Left an orphan at an early age, he nevertheless persevered in his studies, and after undergoing all the evils which poverty could inflict, he entered into the civil service, successively advancing from one post to another, till he was finally appointed vizir to al-Muktafi. This place he filled for a considerable time, and a yearly salary of one hundred thousand pieces of gold gave him the facility of fully indulging his generous disposition. Such was his liberality, that, at the end of the year, he never had even a piece of silver remaining in his coffer. He displayed great abilities in resisting the encroachments of the Seljûk dynasty, and the khalîfs al-Muktafi and al-Musta'jid used frequently to declare that the Abbasid family never had a vizir like Yahya Ibn Hubaira. This eminent statesman died A. H. 500, whilst prostrated in prayer. Amongst the numerous anecdotes related of his generosity, may be noticed the following: When appointed vizir, he entered the divan, clothed in his robes of state; and, observing a servant employed in the office who was keeping in the background, he called him forward with an encouraging smile, and bestowed on him some gold and a cloak. He then said: "There is no god but God! I remember that, once coming into this divan, I sat down on one of the seats, and this boy came, and, taking me by the hand, made me stand up, telling me that that was not my place. Seeing him now standing there with terror marked on his countenance, I felt a pleasure in allaying his fears and setting his mind at ease."—(*Al-Dual al-Islâmiya*, No. 898, p. 281 *et seq.*)—Ibn Khallikân also gives a notice on this vizir.

(2) Cæsarea was retaken by the sultan Ilbars in the year 663 (A. D. 1265)

## ABU ABD ALLAH IBN MANDA.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Manda al-Abdi, a celebrated transmitter of traditional information, and the author of a history of Ispahân, was a *hâfiz* of the highest authority. He belonged to a family of eminence which produced a number of learned men; he did not draw his origin from the tribe of Abd (as the surname Abdi would imply), but Barra, his mother, was connected with the tribe of Abd Yâ'il (1) through her father Muhammad, and Ibn Manda bore this surname after his maternal ancestors. The *hâfiz* Abû Mûsa al-Ispahâni mentions him in the *Zîddât* (vol. III. p. 5) and traces up his genealogy, but this list I shall not insert on account of its length. Al-Hâzimi (vol. III. p. 12) speaks of him also in the *Kutûb al-Ujûla*, but omits the genealogy. The *hâfiz* Ibn Manda died A. H. 304 (A. D. 913-4).—In a subsequent part of this work, we shall give the life of his descendant, Yahya Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb.

(1) Abd Yâ'il, the son of Jurham, left his name to a Yeménite tribe established in Hijâz.

## AL-FARABRI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Matar Ibn Sâlih Ibn Bishr al-Farabri is well known as the teacher, from memory, of al-Bukhârî's *Sahîh*, which work he had learned under the author. People came from all quarters to hear him repeat this book. He was born A. H. 231 (A. D. 845-6), and he died on the 3rd of Shawwâl, A. H. 320 (October, A. D. 932).—*Farabri* means *belonging to Farabr*, a town situated on the bank of the Jihûn (*Oxus*), and on the same side of the river as Bukhâra. — Al-Farâbri was one of al-Bukhârî's pupils, and the last survivor of those who taught, from memory, their master's *Sahîh*.

## AL-FARAWI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs as-Sâidi al-Farâwi an-Naisâpûri (*native of Naisâpûr*), surnamed Kamâl ad-din (*perfect in religion*) (4), was a distinguished juriscounsel and Traditionist. He attended the sittings of the Shafite doctor Imâm al-Haramain, author of the *Nihâya 'al-Matlab* (v. II. p. 121), and took notes of his lessons on the principles (*of jurisprudence*). Al Farâwi passed his youth among the *Sâfis*, and became a doctor of the law, a Traditionist, a *mufti*, a controvertist, and a preacher. Though advanced in age, he used to carry food to travellers; and serve at table when visitors came to see him. Having set out on the pilgrimage to Mekka, he preached before crowded assemblies at Baghdad and the other towns through which he passed. In the two Holy Cities (*of Mekka and Medina*), he gave public lessons. On his return to Naisâpûr, he took his seat as professor in the *Nâsihiya* college, and discharged also the duties of *imâm* in the Mosque of al-Mutarriz. He learned Muslim's *Sahîh* from Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi (vol. II. p. 170), and al-Bukhârî's from Saïd Ibn Abi Saïd. His other masters

were Abū Ishak as-Shirāzi (*vol. I. p. 9*), Abū Bakr Ahmad al-Baihaki (*vol. I. p. 57*), Abū 'l-Kāsim Abd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin al-Kushairi (*vol. II. p. 152*), and the Imām al-Haramain. He was the sole person authorised to repeat and explain some of the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Baihaki's works, such as the *Dalā'il an-Nubūṭa* (proofs of Muhammad's prophetic mission), *al-Asmā' wa 's-Sifāt* (the names and attributes of the Divinity), *al-Baath wa 'n-Nushūr* (the resurrection and revivification of mankind), and the two collections of prayers, the greater and the less. It was (punningly) said of him: *al-Farāwī alfo rāwī* (*al-Farāwī is worth one thousand transmitters of traditional information*). He was born at Naisāpūr, A. H. 444 (A. D. 1049-50), some say, 442; at the age of six years he commenced learning Traditions, and he died on Thursday morning, the 21st—some say the 22nd—of Shawwāl, A. H. 530 (July, A. D. 1136).—*Fardūwī* means *belonging to Fardūwa*, a village on the frontiers of Khawārezm; it is called also *Ṭibāt-Fardūwa*, and was built in the khalifate of al-Māmūn, by Abd Allah Ibn Tāhir, the governor of Khorāsān.

(1) According to al-Yāfi, in his *Mirāt*, and al-Othmāni, in his *Tabakāt al-Fukahā*, al-Farāwī bore also the surname of Fakih al-Haram (*the jurisconsult of the sacred territory of Mekka*).

## AL-AJURRI.

Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah al-Ajurri, a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shāfi and a Traditionist, is the author of that collection of forty Traditions which is called after him *Arbaʿūn al-Ajurri*. This doctor, who was noted for his piety and virtue, delivered Traditions on the authority of Abū Muslim al-Kajji, Abū Shoaib al-Harrāni, Ahmad Ibn Yahya al-Hulwāni, al-Mufaddal Ibn Muhammad al-Jundi, and a great number of other masters contemporary with them. Muhammad Ibn Ishak an-Nadim mentions him in the work entitled *al-Fihrest* (1). Al-Ajurri composed many treatises on the law and the Traditions. In the History of Baghdad, the Khatib Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī (*vol. I. p. 75*), speaks of him as conscientious, veracious,

pious, and the author of numerous works; he taught Traditions at Baghdad previously to the year 330 (A. D. 944). He then proceeded to Mekka, and continued to reside there till his death. A number of the *hâfiz*es gave Traditions on his authority, and Abû Noaim al-Ispahâni (*vol. I. p. 74*), the author of the *Hilya tal-Awliâ*, was one of them. A certain learned man informed me that when al-Ajurri entered Mekka, he exclaimed, in admiration: "I implore of thee, O God! the favour to remain here one year;" and that he heard a voice reply: "Nay, thirty years." He survived thirty years, and died at Mekka in the month of Muharram, A. H. 360 (November, A. D. 970). The Khatib says that he found this date on his tombstone, and, in a copy of (*Ibn Bashkuwâl's*) *Silat*, I myself read the following marginal note: "The imâm Abû Bakr, surnamed al-Ajurri because he belonged to a village near Baghdad called al-Ajurr, resided at Mekka, and died there on the 1st of Muharram, A. H. 360."—*Ajurri* is derived from *Ajurr* (*brick*), but I know not why he received this surname.

(1) See vol. I. p. 630.

### AS-SALAMI THE HAFIZ.

Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Nâsir Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Amr, a native of Baghdad and generally known by the surname of as-Salâmi, was an accomplished scholar and the most eminent *hâfiz* of Baghdad at that epoch. He possessed great literary acquirements, having studied the belles-lettres under Abû Zakariyâ at-Tibrizi (1). The works which he transcribed were of the utmost correctness. He was indefatigable in the search of useful hints and instructive observations, and these he carefully noted down. A great quantity of information has been given on his authority by the very first masters. The learned men of that age were his pupils, and the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p. 96*), who was one of the number, cites his authority very frequently. The *hâfiz* Abû Saad as-Samâni (*vol. II. p. 456*) mentions him in his different works. As-Salâmi's birth occurred on the eve of Saturday, the 15th of Shaabân, A. H.

467 (April, A.D. 1075), and he died at Baghdad on the eve of Tuesday, the 18th of Shaabân, A. H. 550 (October, A. D. 1155). The next morning, his body was carried forth, and funeral prayers were said over it thrice, near the mosque of the Sultan (*Jâmi 's-Sultân*); it was then taken across the river to the mosque (*Jâmi*) of al-Mansûr, where the funeral service was again performed, after which they bore it to the Harbiya cemetery, at the Harb Gate, and interred it under the *sidra* (2), at the side of Abû Mansûr Ibn al-Anbârî the preacher's tomb.—“*Salâmi* means *native of Madîna tas-Salâm (the city of welfare)*, that is, Baghdad. Such,” says as-Samâni, “was the note written by himself on his own “surname.”

(1) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) The word *sidra* means *lotus-tree*. It may perhaps designate here some religious edifice.

### AL-HAZIMI THE HAFIZ.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abî Othmân Mûsa Ibn Othmân Ibn Mûsa Ibn Othmân Ibn Hâzim al-Hâzimi al-Hamadâni (*native of Hamadân*), surnamed Zain ad-dîn (*ornament of religion*), was distinguished by the exactitude of his information as a *hâfiz*, and the eminent sanctity of his life. Having learned by heart the sacred Koran, he attended the lessons of Abû 'l-Wakt Abd al-Auwal as-Sijazi (*vol. II. page 171*) at Hamadân, and learned Traditions in the same city from Abû Mansûr Sheherdâr Ibn Shirdyah the Dailemite, Abû Zarâ Tâhir Ibn Muhammad al-Makdisi (*vol. III. page 6*), the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Alâ al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad (1), and a great number of other masters. He studied the law at Baghdad under the *shaikh* Jamâl ad-dîn Wâthik Ibn Fadlân (2) and others; it was there also that he heard Traditions delivered by Abû 'l-Husain Abd al-Hakk and Abû Nasr Abd ar-Rahim, the sons of Abd al-Khâlik Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf, Abû 'l-Fath Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Shâtil, and others. He then undertook to collect Traditions himself, and with that view he visited a number of the cities of Irâk, whence he proceeded to

Syria, Mosul, Fars, Isphâh, Hamadân, and most of the towns in the province of Adarbâijân. He wrote down Traditions under the dictation of nearly all the *shaikhs* at these places, and devoted his attention so specially to this branch of study, that he attained in it a great eminence and a high reputation. He composed on this and on other subjects a number of instructive works, such as the *Nâsih wa 'l-Manâsîh* on (the annulling and the annulled) traditions; the *Kitâb al-Faîsal* (discriminator), treating of those patronymics the origin and pronounciation of which might be mistaken; the *Kitâb al-Ujûla* (the ready assister) on patronymics and ethnic names; a work on geographical synonyms and the names of places which, when written, are liable to be mispronounced; the *Silsila tad-Dahab* (golden chain), treating of the Traditions delivered by Ibn Hanbal (v. I. p. 44) on the authority of as-Shâfi (v. II. p. 569); the *Shurât al-A'imma* (conditions of the imâms), etc. He resided at Baghdad, on the east side of the river, constantly engaged in study and the practice of virtue, till fate cut through the branch of his life whilst yet green. This event happened at Baghdad on the eve of Monday, the 28th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 584 (July, A. D. 1188). He was interred in the Shûnizi cemetery, beside (the grave of) Samnûn Ibn Hamza (3), and opposite to the tomb of al-Junaid (vol. I. page 338). Crowds of people attended the funeral service which was said over him in the court of the Mosque of the Castle (*Jâmi 'l-Kasr*); the body was then taken to the west side of the river, and the prayer was there repeated. His books were distributed among the Traditionists. Al-Hâzimi was born A. H. 548 (A. D. 1153-4), or 549, on the road leading to Hamadân. He was carried to that city, and in it he passed his youth.—He bore the surname of *Hâzimi* because one of his ancestors was called *Hâzim*.

(1) Abû 'l-Alâ al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad, a *hafiz* and teacher of the Koran-readings, died A. H. 569 (A. D. 1173-4), aged 81 years. He was a native of Hamadân.—(*Nujûm. Huffâz.*)

(2) The learned *imâm* Jamâl ad-din Abû 'l-Kâsim Wâthik Ibn Ali Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Fadlân, a doctor of the Shafite sect, was born at Baghdad, A. H. 515 (A. D. 1121-2). He made his studies at Baghdad and Naisâpûr, and became professor in the *Nizâmiya* college of the former city. His death occurred in Shâhbân, A. H. 595 (June, A. D. 1199). The author of the *Tabakât al-Fukahd* observes that some persons call this doctor *Yahya*, not *Wâthik*, and Ibn Kâdi Shohba gives him the name of *Yahya* in his *Tabakât as-Shafiyin*. The latter author says that Ibn Fadlân held a high rank as a juriconsult, a theologian, a controvertist, and a dialectician. The author of the *Tabakât al-Fukahd* informs us, that Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, the son of this

Ibn Fadlân, was professor at the *Mustansiriya* college in Baghdad, that he acted as *Kādi 'l-Kudât* for the khalif an-Nâsir lidinillah, and died A. H. 634 (A. D. 1233-4).

(3) Abû 'l-Hasau Samnûn Ibn Hamza 'l-Khawwâs was a disciple of as-Sari as-Sakati (*vol. I. p. 333*) and other *sâfîs*. He used to discourse with great eloquence on the love of God, and he replied, when asked what was *sâfism*: "to possess nothing and to let nothing possess you." This eminent *shaikh* died some time after al-Junaid.—(*Lawâkith al-Anuâr fî Tabakât il-Akhyâr*, by Abd al-Wahhâb as-Shâranî; MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin.)

### ABU BAKR IBN AL-ARABI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Arabi, was a celebrated *hâfiz*, a member of the tribe of Maâfir and a native of Seville in Spain. Ibn Bashkuwâl speaks of him in these terms, in his *Silat*: "That *hâfiz* filled "with learning to overflowing; the last of the learned, the last *imâm* and the "last *hâfiz* of Spain. I met him in the city of Seville on Monday morning, "the 2nd of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 516 (August, A. D. 1122). He "informed me that it was on Sunday, the first of the first Rabi, A. H. "485 (April, A. D. 1092), that he set out with his father on their jour- "ney to the East (1), and that he went to Syria, where he met Abû Bakr "Muhammad Ibn al-Walid at-Tortûshi (*vol. II. p. 665*), under whom he stu- "died jurisprudence. Having gone to Baghdad, he heard Traditions from "—some of the most eminent masters—"and then proceeded to Hijâz. He "performed the pilgrimage in the year 489, and, on his return to Bagh- "dad, he became the pupil of Abû Bakr as-Shâshi (*vol. II. page 625*), Abû "Hâmid al-Ghazzâlî (*vol. II. p. 621*), and other doctors and philologers. He "then left Baghdad, and went to Egypt. In Alexandria and other places of "that country he met some of the Traditionists, and wrote down Traditions "under their dictation, communicating to them the fruits of his own researches "whilst he received theirs. In the year 493, he returned to Spain, and entered "Seville with a greater stock of information than any person who travelled to "the East had ever brought back before. He was deeply versed in a variety of



“ sciences, and had attained a high proficiency in all the branches of knowledge;  
 “ on these subjects he discoursed with great ability, and, being enabled by his  
 “ penetrating genius to comprehend them all, he displayed the utmost ardour  
 “ in diffusing information, whilst he employed the acuteness of his mind in  
 “ distinguishing what was exact therein from what was not. We may add  
 “ that he was equally distinguished by the amenity of his character, the  
 “ charm of his manners, his affability, humility, nobleness of mind, obliging  
 “ disposition, and constancy in friendship. Having been appointed *kādi* in  
 “ his native town, he rendered the highest service to the inhabitants by the  
 “ firmness with which he discharged his duties and the severity which made  
 “ him an object of terror for the wicked. On his removal from office, he  
 “ turned his mind to the task of diffusing learning. I asked him the date of his  
 “ birth, and he informed me that he was born on the eve of Thursday, the 21st  
 “ of Shaabân; A. D. 468 (April, A. D. 1076). He died in North Africa and was  
 “ interred in the city of Fez, in the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 543 (Aug.-  
 “ Sept, A. D. 1148).” To these words of Ibn Bashkuwāl I may add that the  
*hāfiz* Ibn al-Arabi left a number of works, and amongst others that entitled *al-*  
*Adrida tal-Ahwadi fi Sharh it-Tirmidi* (the fluency of the expert, being a commentary  
 on the Traditions collected by at-Tirmidi) (2). He was born at Seville; some say  
 in the year 469 (A. D. 1076-7). His death is stated to have taken place in the  
 month of the first Jumâda, whilst he was returning from Morocco to Fez, and  
 at a day's journey from the latter city. His corpse was transported to Fez and  
 interred in the cemetery of al-Jaiyâni.—His father was born A. H. 435 (A. D.  
 1043-4), and he died in the month of Muharram, A. H. 493 (November-De-  
 cember, A. D. 1099), in Egypt, on his return from the expedition which he  
 and his son had made to the East; he was an accomplished scholar and an  
 able *kātib*. — The title of Ibn al-Arabi's work, *al-Adrida tal-Ahwadi*, requires  
 explanation; *adrida* means *command of language*; they say: *Such a one has an*  
*extreme adrida*, to indicate that he has a great command of language; *ahwadi*  
 means: *one who gets through a business lightly, owing to his skill*; or, according to  
 al-Asmâi, *one expert in business, completely master of it, and who lets no part of it*  
*escape his attention*

(1) Ibn al-Arabi wrote an account of this journey; Ibn Khaldûn mentions it, in his History of the Berbers, under the title of *Rihla journey*, and informs us that the author speaks in it of his shipwreck on the coast of Barka, where he and his father were hospitably treated by the nomadic Arabs of that region.

(2) There exists in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* a large volume of mysticism in five hundred and sixty chapters, and entitled *al-Futûha tal-Makkiya* (*Mekkan revelations*). The author of this work is also an Ibn al-Arabi: his names are Muhi ad-dîn Muhammad Ibn Ali, and he died A. H. 638 (A. D. 1240).

### AN-NAKKASH AL-BAGHDADI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ziâd al-Mukri *teacher of the readings of the Koran, and* surnamed an-Nakkâsh, belonged to a family of Mosul, but was born and brought up at Baghdad. He possessed great learning in the Koran and its interpretation, on which last subject he composed a work entitled: *Shafa as-Sudûr* (*medicine of the heart*). Amongst his other productions we may notice the *Ishâra* (*indication*), on the obscure terms of the Koran; the *Maudih* (*elucidator*), on the Koran and its style; the *Didd el-Akl* (*contradictory to reason*); the *Mandâsik* (*rites of devotion*); the *Fahm al-Mandâsik* (*comprehension of the rites*); the *Akhbâr al-Kussâs* (?) (*History of the story-tellers*); the *Zamm al-Hasad* (*dispraise of envy*); the *Dalâil an-Nubuwa* (*proofs of Muhammad's prophetic mission*); the *Abwâb* (*doors, or chapters*), on the Koran; the *Iram Zât al-Imd* (*the Iram of many columns*) (1); the greater, the less, and the medium dictionary of Koran-readers and their readings; the greater *Book of the Seven* (*readings*), with the reasons of these readings; the lesser *Book of the Seven* (*readings*); the medium *Book of the Seven* (*readings*), and the *as-Sâfir al-Kabîr* (*the great traveller*) to the East and West. He heard Traditions delivered at Kûfa, Basra, and Mekka, in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, at Mosul, in Persian Irak, Khorasân, and Transoxiana, but some of those which he taught are merely rejected Traditions headed with approved *isnâds* (2). His name happening to be mentioned in the presence of Talha Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jaafar, this person said: "He was false in his Traditions, and addicted to story-telling." He delivered orally pieces of literature on the authority of the most eminent among the learned, and his own authority was cited by them for some which they delivered. Al-Barkânî (3) said: "All the Traditions taught by an-Nakkâsh are false, and

"in his interpretation of the Koran, there is not a single genuine Tradition." An-Nakkâsh was born A. H. 266 (A.D. 879-80); some say, 265; and he died on Tuesday, the 2nd of Shawwâl, A.H. 354 (November, A.D. 962). The next day, he was interred. By other accounts his death is placed a year sooner, or a year later.—*Nakkâsh* means a *painter of walls and ceilings, etc.*; which profession this doctor had followed in the early part of his life.

(1) See Lane's *Thousand and one Nights*, vol. II. p. 342, for the description of this fabulous place.

(2) See Introduction to vol. I. page xxii.

(3) The *hâfiz* Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ghâlib al-Barkânî, born (*at Barkân, a village*) in Khawârezm, A. H. 339 (A. D. 950-1), died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 423 (May-June, A. D. 1034). He had some acquaintance with Arabic philology (*arabiya*), and composed a *Musnad*, or authenticated body of Traditions, in which he inserted the contents of al-Bukhârî's *Sahîh* and those of Muslim's. The Khatib, who, as well as al-Daihaki and Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi, gave some Traditions on his authority, says: "Amongst all our masters we did not find one possessing more solid information than he. His piety was conspicuous and he possessed deep learning in the law."—(*Nujûm*, Al-Yâfi. *Tab. al-Huffâz*.)

## IBN SHANBUD.

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Aiyûb Ibn as-Salt Ibn Shanbûd, an eminent master of the Koran-*readings* and a native of Baghdad, was a pious and well-intentioned, but weak-minded man. It is said that he uttered much nonsense and little real learning. Having become the sole depository of some rare and singular readings of the Koran, he introduced them into his recitations from that book whilst presiding at the public prayer (1). By this he incurred general reprehension, and the vizir Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Mukla, the celebrated penman, having been informed of his conduct and that he had changed some passages of the Koran by substituting certain words for others belonging to the primitive revealed text, had the delinquent brought before him, in the beginning of the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 323 (March, A. D. 935), and kept him prisoner in the palace for some days. On Sunday, the 7th of the same month, he convoked an assembly composed of the *kâdi* Abû 'l-Husain

Omar Ibn Muhammad, Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Mûsa Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Mujâhid, teacher of the Koran-readings, and other persons of the same profession. Ibn Shanbûd was then brought in and examined in the presence of the vizir, but he replied with great insolence to him, the *kaddi*, and Ibn Mujâhid, calling them persons of little information and reproaching them with not having travelled in the pursuit of learning as he had done; the *kaddi* was even treated by him as a mere dotard. On this, the vizir ordered him to be flogged, and the prisoner, whilst undergoing this punishment, which consisted in seven distinct beatings, invoked God's vengeance on Ibn Mukla, praying that his hand might be cut off and his prosperity ruined; and such was really the case, as will be seen in our account of that vizir's life. They then examined him relative to the readings which he was accused of having employed, and he answered by denying those which gave scandal, and declaring that some readers did make use of the others. Being called on to recant, he consented and said: "I renounce my manner of reading, and in future I shall follow no other than that of the manuscript drawn up by (the *khalif*) Othmân Ibn Affân, and that which is publicly received." The vizir ordered this declaration to be taken down and made him subscribe his name to it. This subscription contained evidently the expression of Ibn Shanbûd's sincere repentance. The words of the document were: "Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, generally known by the name of Ibn Shanbûd, being questioned as to the report of his having read: *When you are called to prayer on the day of the assembly, go (2) to the commemoration of God*; he acknowledged it. And being questioned as to the reading: *and (do) ye make this your gratitude that ye declare (the Koran) to be false? (3)*, he acknowledged it; and as to the reading: *may the hands of Abû Lahab perish, and he has already perished (4)*, he acknowledged it; and as to the reading: *because there was a king before them, who took every ship by force (5)*, he acknowledged it; and as to the reading: *like wool carded (6)*, he acknowledged it; and as to: *this day we will save thee on account of thy invocation (7)*, he acknowledged it; and as to: *and, when he fell down, the men plainly perceived that the Genii, had they known that which is secret, had not continued (a year) in ignominious punishment (8)*, he acknowledged it; and as to: *by the night when it spreads its shades! by the day when it shineth forth! by the male and the female! (9)*, he acknow-

“ ledged it ; and as to : the infidels *have already charged* (Muhammad) *with impos-*  
 “ *ture, but* (the punishment) *shall be eternal* (10), he acknowledged it ; and as  
 “ to : *and that there may be a band of you inviting to the best* (religion), *and com-*  
 “ *manding that which is just, and forbidding that which is evil,* and asking God’s  
 “ assistance against the misfortunes which befall them ; *these shall be happy*  
 “ *ones!* (11) he acknowledged it ; and as to : if you *do it not, there will be trouble*  
 “ *in the earth and wide-spread corruption* (12), he acknowledged it. And the  
 “ witnesses here present have written their testimonies to this instrument,  
 “ showing it to accord with his own declaration, and Ibn Shanbūd has written  
 “ with his own hand what follows :—I, Muhammad, the son of Ahmad, the son  
 “ of Aiyūh, generally known by the name of Ibn Shanbūd, acknowledge the  
 “ contents of this paper to be true, and to be my words and belief ; and I take  
 “ to witness Almighty God and the persons here present. And if I act against  
 “ this declaration, or if any thing in my conduct denote other sentiments than  
 “ those here expressed, I declare that the khalif may lawfully shed my blood.  
 “ Written on Sunday, the 7th of the first Rabi, of the year 323, at the sitting  
 “ held by the vizir Abū Ali Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Mukla ; may he long enjoy  
 “ the favour of God ! ” Abū Aiyūh as-Simsār then interceded with the  
 vizir in order to procure Ibn Shanbūd’s liberation, but observed to him that if  
 he allowed his prisoner to return home, the unfortunate man would be mur-  
 dered by the populace. He therefore requested that he should be sent by  
 night to al-Madāin, whence, after a few days’ delay, he might return to Baghdad  
 privately, and not appear in public for some time. The vizir granted this re-  
 quest and sent Ibn Shanbūd to al-Madāin. This reader died at Baghdad on  
 Monday, the 3rd of Safar, A. H. 328 (November, A. D. 939) ; some say that he  
 died a prisoner in the sultan’s palace.—Abū Bakr Ibn Mujāhid died on Wed-  
 nesday, the 18th of Shaabān, A. H. 324 (July, A. D. 936), and was interred in a  
 mausoleum erected for him in the Sūk al-Itr (*the perfume market*). His birth  
 took place in the year 245 (A. D. 859-60).

(1) Literally: He read (*the Koran*) with them, in the *Mīhrab*.

(2) Go ; in Arabic, *faddā*. The received text has *fasad* (*hasten*). See Koran, sūrat 62, verse 9.

(3) For gratitude (*shukr*), the Koran has *riṣṣ* (*sustenance*). Salé renders the passage thus: “ And do ye  
 “ make (*this return for*) your food (*which ye receive from God*), that ye deny (*yourselves to be obliged to*  
 “ *him for the same*). ” Sūrat 56, verse 81.

- (4) *Kad tabba*, for the received reading *tabba* (*and may he perish*). Sûrat 111, verse 1.
- (5) *Before (amdm)*, in place of *behind (ward)*. Sûrat 18, verse 78.
- (6) *Wool (suf)*, in place of *wool of various colours (ihm)*. Sûrat 101, verse 4.
- (7) *On account of thy invocation (bi niddika)*, for *with thy body (bi-badanika)*. Sûrat 10, verse 92.
- (8) The Koran has: And when he fell down, the Genii plainly perceived that, if they had known that which is secret, they had not continued in ignominious punishment." Sûrat 34, verse 13.
- (9) Koran, sûrat 92, verses 1 and 2. The last words are not to be found there.
- (10) The Koran has: "Ye have already charged," etc. Sûrat 25, verse 77.
- (11) Koran, sûrat 3, verse 100. Ibn Shanbûd read *ayel (band)* for *ommet (people)*, and inserted the words: *and asking God's assistance*, etc.
- (12) Koran, sûrat 8, verse 74. Ibn Shanbûd interpolated the words: *if ye do it not*, and substituted *arid (wide)* for *kabir (great)*. To judge from these specimens, his readings were generally plausible.

### IBN AS-SAMMAK.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Muhammad Ibn Sabih, surnamed al-Mazkûr (1), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn as-Sammâk, was a *marwa* to the tribe of Ijl, a native of Kûfa, and a professional narrator of anecdotes. His devotion and self-mortification, the elegance of his language, his pious exhortations and sayings (which were collected and learned by heart,) acquired him great celebrity. He met some of the Moslems belonging to the class called *al-Sadr al-Awval* (2), such as Hishâm Ibn Orwa (3) and al-Aamash (*vol. I. p. 587*), and received information from them; Traditions were given on his authority by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and that *imdm's* contemporaries. It was in the time of Hârûn ar-Rashid that he left Kûfa, his native place, and proceeded to Baghdad; after remaining in that city for some time, he returned to Kûfa and died there. One of his sayings was: "Fear God as if you had never obeyed him, and hope in him as if you had never disobeyed him." Hârûn ar-Rashid, having sworn one day that he himself was one of those who were to enter Paradise, consulted doctors of the law on the subject (4). None of them opined that he was one of those persons, and as Ibn as-Sammâk's name was then mentioned to him, he had him called in and asked his opinion. Ibn as-Sammâk proposed to him this question: "The Commander of the faithful, had he ever the occasion of committing

“an act of disobedience towards God, and abstained from it through fear of offending him?” — “Yes,” said ar-Rashid; “in my youth, I loved a slave girl belonging to a person in my service, and having once found a favourable opportunity, I resolved on committing the wicked act with her, but reflecting on the fire of hell and its terrors, and recollecting that fornication was one of the grievous sins, I abstained from the girl through fear of Almighty God.” — “Then let the Commander of the faithful rejoice! thou art one of those who shall enter Paradise,” said Ibn as-Sammāk. — “How,” said ar-Rashid, “dost thou know that?” — “From the words of the Almighty himself,” replied the other; “he has said: *But whoever shall have dreaded the appearing before his Lord and shall have restrained his soul from lust; verily Paradise shall be his abode* (5).” These words excited in ar-Rashid a lively joy. Ibn as-Sammāk went one day to intercede with a grandee in favour of a man for whom he felt interested, and he addressed him in these terms: “The beseecher and the besought will feel honoured if the request for which I come be granted, and disgraced if it be refused. Choose therefore for thyself the honour of giving, not the shame of refusing, and choose for me the honour of obtaining, not the shame of being refused.” The request was granted. One of his sayings was: “He who, being inclined to the world, is sated with its sweetness, will be drenched with the bitterness of the other world, though he abhor it.” Having held a discourse one day in the hearing of his slave-girl, he asked her what she thought of it. She replied that it would have been good, were it not for the repetitions. “But,” said he, “I make use of repetitions in order to make those understand who do not.” — “Yes,” she replied; “and to make those understand who do not, you weary those who do.” The anecdotes told of him and the exhortations which he delivered are very numerous. He died at Kūfa, A. H. 183 (A. D. 799-80). — *Sammāk* means a *seller*, or a *catcher*, of fish (*samak*).

(1) *Al-Mazkār* signifies the mentioned, the well-remembered. It here seems to be a surname, for in the *Nujūm*, under the year 183, there is an article on him in which he is called *Muhammād Ibn Sabīḥ Abū 'l-Abdās al-Mazkār*.

(2) M. de Sacy renders the words *الصدر الاول* by *les musulmans des premiers temps*. See his *Abd-allatif*, page 473, line 26.

(3) His life is given by our author.

(4) Had his oath been declared false, he would have been obliged, in conscience, to expiate it in the prescribed forms. See vol. I. p. 83.

(5) Koran, sûrat 79, verse 40.—Ibn as-Sammâk's argument is not conclusive, for the virtuous man may relapse.

### ABU TALIB AL-MAKKI AL-HARITHI.

Abû Tâlib Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Atiya al-Hârithi al-Makki, a celebrated preacher and the author of the work entitled *Kât al-Kulûb* (*food for the heart*) (1), was noted for his piety and the austerity of his life. He pronounced discourses in the mosque, and composed some treatises on the *Tauhid* (2). Al-Jabal (*Persian Irak*) was his native country, but, as he had resided at Mekka, he obtained the surname of al-Makki. He carried the practices of self-mortification to such a length that, it is said, he abstained from ordinary food during a considerable period and lived on nothing but wild herbs. In the use of this nutriment he persevered so long, that his skin took a green tinge. In the Traditions and Sûfism he received the lessons of numerous masters. He went to Basra after the death of Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Sâlim and represented himself as a follower of his doctrines. Having proceeded to Baghdad, he gave a public exhortation, but got so much embroiled in his discourse that the audience retired and never returned to him again. Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi (*vol. III. p. 5*) relates, in his *Ansab*, that, when Abû Tâlib al-Makki went to Baghdad and preached to the crowded congregation which had assembled to hear him, he got embroiled in his discourse, and in one passage he was well recollected to have said: "Nothing is more hurtful to the creature than the creator (3)." This caused the people to exclaim against him as a heretic, and, finding himself abandoned by them, he renounced preaching. Abû Tâlib al-Makki died at Baghdad on the 6th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 386 (June, A. D. 996), and was interred in the Mâlikiya cemetery; his tomb, situated in the eastern side of that burying-ground, is a well-known monument and attracts pious visitors.—*Hârithi* means *related to al-Hârith*, or *to al-Hâritha*; a number of tribes are designated by these names, and I do not know to which Abû Tâlib belonged.—*Makki* signifies *native of M'kka*.

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(1) This work was designated as a guide to novices entering into the *sāfī* life.

(2) *Tauhid* signifies the profession of the divine unity, but, in the technical language of the *Sūfīa*, it means the highest station to which the soul can be elevated by contemplation and the practices of the devout life. This is the point which the *sāfī* must reach in order to obtain eternal felicity.

(3) He probably meant to say *than the world*, but pronounced *khālik* instead of *khalk*.

## IBN SAMOUN.

Abū 'l-Husain Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ismail Ibn Anbas Ibn Ismail, surnamed Ibn Samūn, was a native of Baghdad and a celebrated preacher. For extemporaneous speaking he had not an equal, and, in the eloquence of his exhortations, the charm of his allusions, and the grace of his style, he remained without a rival. Amongst the numerous doctors whom he had met and on whose authority he delivered Traditions, we may mention Abū Bakr as-Shibli (v. I. p. 544). The *Sāhib* Abū 'l-Kāsim Ismail Ibn Abīlād (v. I. p. 242) relates that he heard Ibn Samūn utter these words one day, when seated in the preacher's chair: "Extolled be the Being who hath enabled (*man*) to speak by (*means of a piece of*) flesh, and to see by (*means of a piece of*) fat, and to hear by (*means of*) a bone!"—an ingenious allusion to the tongue, the eye, and the ear. One of his sayings was: "Seeing sin to be vile, I renounced it through a feeling of dignity, and it was replaced in me by devotion." His discourses abounded in delicate turns of thought. The people of Irāk conceived the highest opinion of his merit and became his enthusiastic admirers. It is to him that al-Hariri alludes, in the beginning of his twenty-first *makāma*, entitled *ar-Rāziya* (1), where he says: "And I saw there, a certain morning, bands after bands, swarming like locusts and running like race-horses; describing to each other the preacher whom they were going to hear, and setting Ibn Samūn beneath him." Never did such a preacher exist since that time. He died at Baghdad in the month of Zū 'l-Hijja, A. H. 387 (December, A. D. 997); others say on Friday, the 15th of Zū 'l-Kaada of that year; and was buried at his residence, in the street called Shāri 'l-Attābiyīn. On Thursday, the 10th of Rajab, A. H. 426, his corpse was removed to the cemetery at the

Harb Gate and there interred; it is said that his shroud was still in perfect preservation.—*Sambun* is stated to be an alteration of *Ismâil*, the name of his grandfather.—The primitive signification of *Anbas* (the name of his great-grandfather) is *lion*; but the word was subsequently employed as a proper name for men. The latter *n* of this word is not a radical; *anbas* being formed from *abâs* (to frown) as *fdnal* is formed from *fdl*.

(4) See de Sacy's *Hariri*, page 7. c.

#### ABU ABD ALLAH AL-HASHIMI, THE ASCETIC.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al-Kurashi al-Hâshimi (descended from Hâshim of the tribe of Koraish), a holy and pious ascetic and a native of al-Jazîra tal-Khadrà (Algeiras in Spain), was distinguished by the gift of miracles. I heard the people of Egypt relate most extraordinary things of him, and I saw a number of his disciples who had all participated in the divine favour shown to their master; from them I learned that he had promised to some of his followers an exaltation in holiness which they really attained. He ranked among the great saints of the first class, and, when in his native country, the West, he frequented the society of the most eminent ascetics and profited by their instructions. On his arrival in Egypt, all those who became his disciples, or even saw him, derived advantage from the circumstance. Having gone to Syria on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he continued there till his death. This event took place on the 6th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 599 (August, A.D. 1203). The funeral prayer was said over him in the (mosque called) al-Masjid al-Aksa. He died at the age of fifty-five years. His tomb is a remarkable object and attracts pious visitors, anxious to participate in the divine favour through his merits.—*Al-Jazîra tal-Khadrà* (the green island) is a city in Spain, opposite to Ceuta.—One of his counsels to his disciples was: "Journey towards God though you be lame or crippled (in soul); to wait for healing is to remain in idleness."

## IBN AL-AARABI.

The philologist Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Zîâd, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Aârâbi, was a native of Kûfa and a *mawla* to the Hâshim family, being a client of al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib (*Ibn Hâshim*). His father Zîâd was a slave brought from Sind; others say, a *mawla* to the Banû Shaibân, or some other tribe; but the first statement is the most correct. Ibn al-Aârâbi had a cast in his eyes (4): he was a genealogist, a philologist of the highest reputation, and one of those masters who transmitted orally the poems composed by the Arabic tribes. It is said that, of all the learned men of Kûfa, Ibn al-Aârâbi came nearest to those of Basra in respect to the readings of the poems taught by him (2). He was brought up by al-Mufaddal Ibn Muhammad ad-Dabbi, the author of the *Mufaddaliyât* (3), who had married his mother. He obtained his knowledge of literature from him, Abû Moâwia ad-Darir (*vol. I. p. 187*), al-Kâsim Ibn Maan Ibn Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Masûd, the same whom the khalif al-Mahdi appointed *kâdi* (4), and al-Kisâi (*vol. II. p. 237*). Amongst his own disciples were Ibrahim al-Harbi (*vol. I. p. 46*), Abû 'l-Abbâs Thâlab (*vol. I. p. 83*), and Ibn as-Sikkî (5). He examined closely the productions of the learned, and pointed out a great number of faults committed by those who transmitted down philological information. He held the first rank by his knowledge of the rare and exalted expressions of the language (*al-kalâm al-gharîb*), and he pretended that Abû Obaida and al-Asmâi never produced anything good. He said that it was allowable in Arabic to substitute the letter *dâd* (ض) for the letter *zâ* (ظ), and *vice versa*, and that no one should be censured for so doing; he then recited this verse :

To God I complain of three qualities in a friend whom I love, each of which excites my anger (*ghâid*);

—Pronouncing *ghâid* instead of *ghâiz*: “and thus,” said he, “did I hear it “pronounced by the most correct speakers among the desert Arabs.” His sittings were attended by crowds of people, anxious for instruction, and to them

he addressed his dictations (6). Abû 'l-Abbâs Thâlab said: "I went to the sittings held by Ibn al-Aârâbi, and found there upwards of one hundred persons, some asking him questions and others reading to him; and he answered every question without referring to a book. I attended his lessons upwards of ten years, and I never saw him with a book in his hand; and yet he dictated to his pupils camel-loads of (*literary*) information." Never was a man seen who knew by heart a greater quantity of poetry. Observing one day at his sitting two persons engaged in conversation, he learned with surprise, on asking them whence they came, that one belonged to Isfijâb and the other to Spain. He then recited this verse:

(*We are*) two companions, once separated till time joined us; for the separated sometimes meet and unite together.

After which he dictated to the assembly the rest of the piece, which ran as follows:

We halted at the tent of a female, allied both to the tribe of Kais and to the Arabs of Yemen, nobly descended from pious forefathers; and she said, whilst drawing the curtain of the tent before her: "What is your country? who are you two men?" I replied: "My companion and his people are of the tribe of Tamim; I draw my origin from Yemen. (*We are*) two companions, once separated till time joined us; for the separated sometimes meet and unite together."

Abû 'l-Abbâs Thâlab gives the following lines as having been dictated to him and his fellow-students by Ibn al-Aârâbi:

May God shed his favour on a tribe whose dwelling-place is near Butnân! may blessings attend the youths therein and the men gray with years! Though they reside far away, I and they are (*united*) like wine mingled with water in the glass.

Amongst the works composed by Ibn al-Aârâbi were: the *Kitâb an-Nawâdir* (*book of anecdotes*), a large work; the *Kitâb al-Amwâd* (7); the *Sifat al-Khail* (*description of the horse*); the *Sifat az-Zari* (*description of corn in the blade*); the *Kitâb an-Nabât* (*book of plants*); the *Kitâb al-Khail* (*book of horses*); the *Târikh al-Kabâil* (*history [or epochs] of the tribes*); the *Maâni as-Shîr* (*ideas occurring in poetry*); the *Tafstr al-Amthâl* (*explanation of proverbs*); the *Kitâb al-Alfâz* (*vocabulary*); the *Nisab al-Khail* (*pedigrees of [famous] horses*); the *Nawâdir az-Zu-*

*bairiyîn* (anecdotes respecting the family of Zubair); the *Nawâdir bani Fakâs* (anecdotes of the tribe of Fakâs); the *Kitâb ad-Dihâb* (book on flies), etc. (8). The anecdotes told of him, and the philological observations which he dictated, are very numerous. Thâlib said: "I heard Ibn al-Aârâbi mention that he was born on "the night of the *imâm* Abû Hanîfa's death;" and this, according to the most authentic account, took place in the month of Rajab, A. H. 150 (August, A. D. 767). Ibn al-Aârâbi died at Sârra man râa on the 14th of Shaabân, A. H. 231 (April, A. D. 846); at-Tabari says in his History, on Wednesday the 13th of that month. Some place his death in the year 230, but the former date is nearer the truth. The funeral prayer was said over the corpse by the *kâdi* Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd al-Iyâdi (vol. I. p. 61).—The relative adjective *Aârâbi* is derived from *Aârâb*; Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ozair as-Sijistânî (9), generally known by the appellation of al-Ozairî, says, in his work wherein he explains the uncommon words occurring in the Koran: "They call a man *Aajam* or *Aajami* if there be "an *ujma* (impediment) in his tongue (or language), even though he belong to "the Arabian race; and they call a Persian *Ajami*, even though he speak (*Arabic*) with correctness. A man is *Aârâbi*, if he be an inhabitant of the desert, "though not an Arab; and he is *Arabi* if he belong to the Arabian race, even "though not an inhabitant of the desert."—*Isfijâb* is a city in the farthest part of the East; I imagine it to belong to the climate (*kingdom*) of China, or to be near it (10).—*Butnân* is a plural of *batn*, which word signifies a low ground.

(1) Obliquity of vision was considered by the Arabs as a mark of beauty.

(2) See vol. I. page 379.

(3) Abû 'l-Abbâs (or Abû Abd ar-Rahmân) al-Mufaddal Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yala Ibn Aâmir Ibn Sâlini, a member of the tribe of Dabba, a branch of that of Thâlabah Ibn as-Sind, was a native of Kûfa. Having sided with Ibrahim Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Hasan surnamed an-Nafs az-Zakiya who revolted against al-Mansûr in the year 148 (A. D. 762-3), he was taken prisoner, but received his pardon from that khalif, who attached him to the service of his son al-Mahdi. It was for this young prince that he compiled his *Mufaddaliyyât*, a selection of one hundred and twenty-eight *kasidas* composed by the Arabs. He died A. H. 168 (A. D. 784-5). In the manuscripts of the *Mufaddaliyyât*, the number and the order of these poems vary, having been taught traditionally by different persons. They were commented by Ibn al-Aârâbi and Abû Zakariyâ at-Tahrîzi. The collection commences with the poems of Taâbbata Sharran. The other works of al-Mufaddal ad-Dabbi were, a book of proverbs, a treatise on prosody, another on the ideas usually expressed in poetry, and a vocabulary. Al-Mufaddal was held to be of the first authority as a philologist, a genealogist, and a relator of the poems and battle-days of the desert Arabs. Jahza (vol. I. p. 118) tells the following anecdote of him: "We were "together at ar-Rashid's, and he said to al-Mufaddal: 'Let us know the best thing the Arabs have said of

"the wolf, and you shall have this ring," which cost one thousand six hundred dinars. The other replied:  
 "The best thing said of him is this:

يَذَامُ بِحَدَى مَقْلَتَيْهِ وَيَتَقَى      بَاخِرَى الْمَنَازِلِ فَيُوقِظَانِ نَائِمَ

"He sleeps with one eye and guards against danger with the other; thus at once waking and sleeping."

"Ar-Rashid here said: 'God brought that passage to your lips for the sole purpose of taking away my ring.' He then handed it to him. When Zubaida was told of the circumstance, she sent al-Mufaddal one thousand six hundred pieces of gold for the ring, which she offered to ar-Rashid, observing that she had remarked how much he liked it. The khalif immediately gave it to al-Mufaddal a second time, saying: 'Keep it and keep the money, for I am not a person to take back what I give away.'—(*Fihrest*, fol. 93. *Nujûm*. See also my *Diwan d'Amrô 'l-Kais*, p. 117).—It was probably an edition of the *Mufaddaliyyât* which Ibn al-Aubâri gave under the title of the *Jâhtliyyât*. See his life in this volume.

(4) Al-Kâsim Ibn Maan Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Masûd al-Masûdi, a native of Kôfa, surpassed all his contemporaries by the variety of his information; the Traditions and traditionists, poetry and poets, history and historians, scholastic theology and theologians, genealogy and genealogists, being the subjects on which he displayed the extent of his acquirements. He died A. H. 173 (A. D. 791-2).—(*Fihrest*, fol. 77. *Nujûm*.)

(5) The life of Ibn as-Sikkîl will be found in this work.

(6) See vol. II. page 139.

(7) Like many other works on the same subject, this one doubtless contained observations in prose and verse relative to the supposed influence of the *amwâd*, or mansions of the moon, on the weather.

(8) The nature of these and similar works is explained in the Introduction to the first volume, page xxxiii.

(9) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ozair (عَزَّيْرُ) as-Sijistâni, the author of the *Gharib al-Kurân*, a work on the composition of which he spent fifteen years, was a man of great piety and virtue. He resided at Baghdad and was still living towards A. H. 330 (A. D. 941-2). His father's name is often mistaken for Azîz (عَزِيزُ). (Ad-Dahîbî's *Tarikh al-Islâm*, No. 446.)

(10) This place lay in Transoxiana.

## MUHAMMAD IBN AL-KALBI.

Abû 'n-Nadr Muhammad Ibn as-Sâib Ibn Bishr (or Mubashshir) Ibn Amr al-Kalbi, a native of K'ifa, the author of an interpretation of the Koran and a genealogist, was a master of the highest authority in these two branches of science. Muhammad Ibn Saad (1) sets forth his genealogy thus: Muhammad Ibn as-Sâib al-Kalbi Ibn Bishr Ibn Amr Ibn al-Harith Ibn Abd al-Harith Ibn Abd al-Ozza Ibn Amr al-Kais Ibn Aâmir Ibn an-Nomân Ibn Aâmir Ibn Aladûn

Ibn Kināna Ibn Aūf Ibn Ozra Ibn Zaid Ibn Abd al-Lāt Ibn Rufaida Ibn Thaur Ibn Kalb. I then consulted Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī's *Book of Genealogies*, and found their descent given as here indicated, with the exception of the link *Abd al-Hārith*, which is omitted.—The following anecdote was related by him and has been transmitted down by his son Hishām: "I went into the house of Dirār Ibn Otārid Ibn Hājib Ibn Zurāra at-Tamīmī, at Kūfa, and found with him a man similem mentulæ molienti in rimā muliebri (2); and this was al-Farazdak the poet. Dirār winked at me and told me to ask him who he was. I put the question, and the other replied: 'If thou art a genealogist, trace down my descent; I am sprung from Tamīm.'—I immediately repeated the list of Tamīm's descendants till I came to Ghālib, the father of al-Farazdak, of whom I said: 'And Ghālib begot Hammām'—this was al-Farazdak's real name—"On this al-Farazdak sat up and exclaimed: "By Allah! my parents never called me by that name except for a single hour of my life.'—'And, by Allah!' replied I, 'I know the day on which thy father called thee al-Farazdak.'—'What day was it?'—'He sent thee out on some business, and, as thou wert walking forth with a *mustuka* (cloak) on thy shoulders, he said: By Allah! one would take thee for a *farazdak* ('a loaf') made by the farmer of such and such a village, in the mountain (3).'—'That is quite true,' replied the poet. He then asked me if I could repeat any of his poems. 'No,' said I, 'but can repeat one hundred of Jarīr's (vol. I. page 294) *kastidas*.' 'Ah,' said he, 'thou canst repeat Ibn al-Marāghā's (vol. I. p. 297) verses, and canst not repeat mine! By Allah! I shall satirize the tribe of Kalb for a whole year, unless thou do as much for me as for Jarīr.' This threat induced me to visit him repeatedly and read over his *Nakādis* (4) under his tuition, although I had not the least use for them."—*Mustuka* means a fur cloak with long sleeves; its plural is *masātik*. Some persons pronounce *mustaka*, not *mustuka*. A tradition informs us that Omar prayed in a *mustuka*, and we learn from another tradition delivered by Anas Ibn Mālik, that the king of the Greeks sent a *mustuka* of fine silk to the blessed Prophet, who put it on: "And I think," said he, "I still see his hands as they appeared (at the extremity of the sleeves)." He then sent it to Jaafar, the son of Ali Ibn Tālib, who said to the Prophet: "Send it to thy brother the Najāshi (king of Abyssinia)." An-Nadr Ibn Shumail (5) says that the *mustuka* is a sort of wide

robe.—Muhammad Ibn al-Kalbi was a follower of Abd Allah Ibn Saba (6), him who taught that Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib was not dead and that he would return into the world.—Sofyân ath-Thauri (*vol. I. page 576*) and Muhammad Ibn Ishak (*vol. II. p. 677*) cited his authority for some of their Traditions, but, lest it should be known who he was, they gave them under this form: "We were told by *Abû 'n-Nadr* that," etc. This al-Kalbi fought at the battle of Dair al-Jamâjim (7), on the side of Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ashath Ibn Kais al-Kindi; his grandfather Bishr, his father as-Sâib, and his uncles Obaid and Abd ar-Rahmân fought under the khalif Ali at the battles of the Camel (A. H. 36) and Siffin (A. H. 37). As-Sâib was slain with Musâb Ibn az-Zubair, and the following verses were pronounced on his death by Ibn Warkâ an-Nakhâi:

Who will tell Obaid, for me, that I struck off his brother's head with the sharp sword.  
If he wish to know where he is, tell him that he reposes near ad-Dairain, without a  
pillow. I struck off his head with my sword, to render orphans Sofyân and Muhammad.

Sofyân and Muhammad were the sons of as-Sâib.—Muhammad Ibn al-Kalbi died at Kûfa in the year 146 (A. D. 763-4). Under the letter *H* we shall give the life of his son Abû 'l-Mundir Hishâm, the celebrated genealogist.—*Kalbi* means *descended from Kalb*, the son of Wabara; the tribe of Kalb forms a large branch of that of Kudâa, and a great number of persons have derived their patronymic from it.—*Mustuka* is a Persian word admitted into the Arabic language (8).

(1) His life will be found in this volume.

(2) The meaning of this obscene comparison is unknown to the translator.

(3) Or, "like Farazdak, the *dihkân* of such and such a village," etc. In the life of al-Farazdak, we shall find mentioned that he received the nickname of *Farazdak* (*dough*) because his face was marked with the small-pox. The similitude appears to lie here in the porous appearance of leavened bread.

(4) *Nakdis* is the plural of *nakisa*; this word means: *Carmen alteri carmini contradicens et argumentum eius quasi dissolvens*. These poems were probably al-Farazdak's answers to those of Jarir.

(5) His life will be found in this work.

(6) See Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, section VIII, and Dr. Cureton's *Sharastân*, Arabic text, p. 137.

(7) The battle of Dair al-Jamâjim was fought A. H. 82. The fullest account we possess of Ibn al-Ashath's revolt is that given by Price in his *Retrospect*, vol. I. p. 485 *et seq.*

(8) The Persian word to which our author alludes is probably *mustek* (مستك).



## KUTRUB.

146M.

Abū Ali Muhammad Ibn al-Mustanir Ibn Ahmad, the grammarian and philologist, generally known by the name of Kutrub, was a native of Basra and a *maula* of Sālim Ibn Zīād. He acquired his literary information from Sibawaih (*vol. II. p. 396*) and some of the learned men of Basra. Ardent for the acquisition of knowledge and devoted to study, he always went to Sibawaih's lessons much earlier than the other pupils, and this induced his master to say to him one day: "Thou art nothing else but a night-kutrub," and this surname stuck to him. The *kutrub* is a little animal always running about. Ibn al-Mustanir was one of the chief (*philologers*) of the age; his works are: the *Maḍni 'l-Kurān* (*rhetorical figures of the Koran*), the *Kitāb al-Ishtikāk* (*treatise on etymology*), the *Kitāb al-Kawāfi* (*treatise on rhymes*), the *Kitāb an-Nawādir* (*book of anecdotes*), the *Kitāb al-Azminu* (*book of the times [seasons?]*), the *Kitāb al-Fark* (*on the difference between the names given to the members of the human body and those given to the same members in animals*), the *Kitāb al-Aswāt* (*book of cries [or interjections]*), the *Kitāb as-Sifāt* (*book of epithets*), the *Kitāb al-Ḥal fī 'n-Nahwi* (*on the examples generally used in grammar*), the *Kitāb al-Addād* (*on the words bearing each two different significations*), the *Kitāb Khulk al-Faras* (*on the frame of the horse*), the *Kitāb Khulk al-Insān* (*on the human frame*), the *Kitāb Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (*on the unusual expressions occurring in the Traditions*), the *Kitāb al-Ḥamza* (*on the letter hāmza*), the *Kitāb fa'la wa afala* (*on the change of signification undergone by certain verbs in passing from the first to the fourth form*), the *Kitāb ar-Radd ala 'l-Mulhidīn fī Tashābuh al-Kurān* (*refutation of the impious, with respect to the passages of the Korān which, if taken literally, would lead to anthropomorphism*), etc. He was the first author who composed one of those philological treatises called *Ternaries* (1); his work, though small, has the merit of priority, and served for model to Ibn as-Sid al-Batalyausi (*vol. II. p. 64*) in his; the latter forms a large book. I have seen a third *Ternary* composed by a native of Tauris (*tabrizi*), who was, however, a different person from the Abū Zakariyā at-Tabrizi, whose life is given in this work. I do not at present recollect the author's name, but the work itself is of considerable extent and merit. After all, it was Kutrub who marked out

the way. Kutrub was preceptor to Abû Dulaf's sons (*vol. II. p. 502*). The following verses are attributed to him by (*Hôrân*) Ibn al-Munajjim in his *Kitâb al-Bdrî* (2):

Though thou art not with me, thy remembrance is: my heart sees thee, though thou art absent from my sight. The eye sees the beloved and perceives her absence: but the interior of the heart is never deprived of her presence.

These verses are very well known, but it is only from this work that I learned who was their author. Kutrub died A. H. 206 (A. D. 821-2). Some say that his real name was Ahmad Ibn Muhammad, and others, al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad; but that given at the head of this article comes probably nearest to the truth.

(1) Ternary, in Arabic *Muthallath*. By this term is meant such nouns as bear a different signification according to their first syllable is pronounced with an *a*, an *i*, or an *u*.

(2) The life of this Ibn al-Munajjim will be given later.

## AL-MUBARRAD.

Abû 'l-Abbas Muhammad, generally known by the name of al-Mubarrad, was the son of Yazid Ibn Abd al-Akbar Ibn Omair Ibn Hassân Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Saad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Zaid Ibn Mâlik Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Aâmir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bilâl Ibn Aûf Ibn Aslam Ibn Abjan Ibn Kaab Ibn al-Harith Ibn Kaab Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nadr Ibn al-Asad Ibn al-Ghauth. The Aslam of this list was called also Thumâla, and Ibn al-Kalbi, who makes the same observation, adds that al-Asad is the same person as al-Azd (*the progenitor of the tribe of that name*). The grammarian al-Mubarrad, surnamed ath-Thumâli al-Azdi (*descended from Thumâl of the tribe of Azd*), was a native of Basra, but resided at Baghdad. This eminent philologist and grammarian composed a number of works on literary subjects, such as the *Kâmil* (*perfect*), the *Raûda* (*meadow*), the *Muktadib* (*rough draught*), etc. He studied under Abû Othmân al-Mâzini (*vol. I. p. 264*),

and Abû Hâtîm as-Sijistânî (*vol. I. p. 603*); amongst the many eminent masters who had received lessons from him, Niftawîh (*vol. I. p. 26*) was one of the most distinguished. Al-Mubarrad and Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Yahya, surnamed Thâlab (*vol. I. p. 83*), the author of the *Faṣḥ*, were perfectly matched in learning, and their existence formed an epoch in the history of literature. It was of them that a contemporary, Abû Bakr Ibn Abi 'l-Azhar said, in one of his poems:

Searcher of knowledge! act not blindly, but have recourse to al-Mubarrad or to Thâlab. In them you will find united the learning of all other men; remain not then (*in ignorance, lest you be shunned*) like a mangy camel. All the knowledge in the world, from East to West, is combined together in these two.

Al-Mubarrad liked to meet with Thâlib, because he had then an opportunity of discussing questions with him and acquiring information, but this was highly disagreeable to Thâlab, who therefore avoided him. Abû 'l-Kâsim Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hamdân, a jurisconsult of Mosul and a friend to both, related as follows: "I asked Abû Abd Allah ad-Dainawari, Thâlab's son-in-law, why " his relative had such a dislike to meeting with al-Mubarrad, and he replied, " because al-Mubarrad expressed himself with elegance and charmed the hearer " by his ingenious allusions, purity of language, and speciousness of reasoning; " whereas Thâlab's mode of speaking was that usual with persons accustomed " to teach. It therefore happened that, when they met, the assembly were " seduced by al-Mubarrad's outward show before they could appreciate his real " talent." Al-Mubarrad dictated a great quantity of information and abounded in anecdote. One of the anecdotes dictated by him was the following: "Abû " Jaafar al-Mansûr appointed a person to act as guardian of the blind, the " orphans, and distressed housekeepers who were widows. A man reduced to " great misery went one day with his son to this officer and said: 'Would you " have the kindness to inscribe my name on the list of distressed house- " keepers?'—'Those housekeepers are females,' observed the guardian, 'how " then can I inscribe you among them?'—'Well,' said the man, 'put me on " the blind list.'—'That I will,' answered the other, 'for God hath said: *It is " not the eyes which are blind, but the hearts contained in men's bosoms* (1).— " And inscribe my boy on the list of orphans.'—'That also I shall do, for he " who has a father like you is really an orphan.' The man then withdrew,

“ after obtaining his inscription on the blind list and that of his son on the list “ of orphans.” A certain grandee having asked al-Mubarrad to procure him a preceptor, he sent him one with a letter to this effect : “ I here send what you “ wished for, and I may say this much for him and in his name :

“ When I visit princes, all the protection I require is, that they put my talents to the test.”

The idea of this verse is borrowed from a note addressed by Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf (vol. I. p. 271) the *kâtib* to al-Mâmûn, on the day of Newrûz (2), with the present of an embroidered robe : “ I have sent to the Commander of the faithful an “ embroidered robe which will speak for itself. Adieu.” I once saw al-Mubarrad in a dream, and the singularity of our conversation was such that I am induced to relate it : In the year 636 (A. D. 1238-9), I passed five months in Alexandria, and happening to have with me al-Mubarrad’s *Kâmil* and Ibn Abd Rabbih’s *Ikâ* (vol. I. p. 92), I perused them occasionally. In the latter work I remarked a chapter entitled : *Mistakes of which poets have been accused*, and containing verses in which it had been pretended that the authors were mistaken, whereas they were really in the right ; the blunders having been made by critics not sufficiently acquainted with the subjects they were examining. Amongst the persons mentioned in this chapter is al-Mubarrad, of whom the author says : “ And similar to this is a mistake committed by Muhammad Ibn Yazîd the grammarian, in his *Rauda*, where he blames al-Hasan Ibn Hâni—meaning Abû “ Nuwâs—for having said :

“ (The tribe of) Bakr Ibn Wâil has left no recollections but that of its foolish woman (hamkâ) and its lying man.”

“ ‘ Because,’ says al-Mubarrad, ‘ by the word *hamkâ* the poet meant Habannaka “ ‘ al-Kaisi, and he should not therefore have designated him as the *hamkâ* (stult “ ‘ ta).’ Now the fact is that Abû Nuwâs meant the female of the tribe of Ijl “ called Dughâ, whose silliness was proverbial, and Ijl is a branch of the tribe “ of Bakr.” By this, the author of the *Ikâ* means to say that al-Mubarrad, in blaming Abû Nuwâs for having here made use of the word *hamkâ* (stulta), imagined that the poet had in view Habannaka, and, as Habannaka was a man, that he should have said *ahmak* (stultus), not *hamkâ* ; whereas according to Ibn Abd

Rabbih, the poet really meant the woman called Dugha. Therefore, concludes the author of the *Ikd*, it is al-Mubarrad who is in the wrong, not Abû Nuwâs. A few nights after reading this passage, I dreamt that I was in Aleppo, in the college of the *kâdi* Bahâ ad-din Ibn Shaddâd, where I had formerly pursued my studies. And it seemed as if we were saying the afternoon prayer in the place appropriated to that purpose, and that the congregation was assembled. When the prayer was ended, I stood up to retire and then saw, at the lower end of the room, a man standing and praying. Being informed by one of the persons present, that it was Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad, I went over and sat down beside him, waiting till he had done. I then saluted him and said: "I am now reading your work, 'the *Kâmil*;" on which he asked me if I had seen his *Rauda*. I replied that I had not, and this was in fact the truth, as I had never seen the work. "Well," said he, "come with me and I will show it to you." On this I arose and went up with him to his chamber, wherein I perceived a great quantity of books. He then sat down before them, looking for his *Rauda*, and I took my seat at some distance. Having drawn out a volume, he handed it to me. I opened it and, placing it on my knees, I said to him: "They have remarked a mistake of yours in this book."—"What mistake can they have remarked in it?"—"They say that you found fault with Abû Nuwâs for having said so and so in such a verse."—"He was certainly wrong there."—"Nay," said I, "he was in the right, and they say that you were in the wrong when you accused him of making a mistake."—"How can that be?" I then told him what the author of the *Ikd* had said, on which he bit the end of his finger and stared at me in amazement, looking quite abashed and not uttering a word. He remained in the same posture till I awoke. My only motive for mentioning this dream is its singularity. Al-Mubarrad was born on Monday, the festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 240 (February, A. D. 826); some say in A. H. 207. He died at Baghdad on Monday, the 27th of Zû 'l-Hijja—some say, of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 286 (January, A. D. 900); but others place his death in A. H. 285. He was interred in a house bought for the purpose, and situated in the cemetery at the Kûfa Gate. The funeral service was said over him by the *kâdi* Abû Muhammad Yûsuf Ibn Yâkûb (vol. II. p. 664). The following lines, written after his death by Abû Bakr al-Hasan Ibn al-Allâf (vol. I. p. 398), are currently known, and were frequently recited by Ibn al-Jawâliki (3):

Al-Mubarrad is gone! his days are past! and Thâlab must follow al-Mubarrad. Behold the mansion of literature half demolished, and destruction awaiting the remainder. Lament what time has snatched away, and prepare your minds for another privation. Lay in a provision out of Thâlab's learning, for he shall soon drink of the same cup as al-Mubarrad. I should tell you even to take note of his sighs, if it were possible to write them down.

An idea similar to this is thus expressed by Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Ali an-Namari (4), a philologist of Basra, in a piece of verse recited by him on learning the death of his rival Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Mualla al-Azdi:

Al-Azdi is gone and an-Namari is going; the parts of one whole are ever closely united. He was my brother, the partaker of my love, although he never repaid my attachment. A coolness always reigned between us, but it redounded to his honour and mine own. For I never despised the men of Azd, although their country was far apart from mine.

—*Thumâli* means descended from *Thumâli*, a person whose real name was Aûf Ibn Aslam and from whom a branch of the tribe of Azd drew its origin. Al-Mubarrad says, in his *Kitâb al-Ishîkâk*: "This tribe was called *Thumâli*, because "it lost most of its members in a battle, and the people said: There is only a "*thumâli* of them remaining. *Thumâli* means a feeble remnant."—The following satirical lines were composed on al-Mubarrad and his tribe by a contemporary poet; Abû Ali al-Kâli (vol. I. p. 210) attributes them, in his *Amâlî*, to Abd as-Samad Ibn al-Muaddal:

We asked every tribe where was Thumâli, and they asked us what was Thumâli. I told them that it belonged Muhammad Ibn Yazid, and they said: You make it less known to us than ever. Then al-Mubarrad spoke to me and said: "Spare my feelings, "that tribe of mine is a vile race."

It is even stated that these verses were composed by al-Mubarrad himself, from a desire of being known as a member of this tribe: his verses got into circulation, and he obtained his wish. He used frequently to recite at his assemblies:

O you who, in sumptuous array, strut about like princes scorning the wretched; know that the saddle-cloth changeth not the nature of the ass, neither do splendid trappings change the nature of the pack-horse.

The learned explain diversely the origin of his surname *al-Mubarrad*, and here is what the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi (vol. II. p. 96) says, in his treatise on

patronymics: "Al-Mubarrad being asked how he came by this surname related as follows: The chief of the *shurta* (*police-guards*) wanted me to pass the evening with him in conviviality and conversation, but not wishing to go, I went to Abū Hātim as-Sijistāni's. Soon after, a messenger of that officer (*wali*) came in search of me, and Abū Hātim bid me hide in the wicker-case of a large earthen water-cooler. Having followed his advice, he put on the lid, and went to the messenger, saying: He is not in my house.—Nay, said the other, I am told that he is in it.—Well; replied Abū Hātim, come in and look for him. The man went in, and searched every corner of the house, without noticing the wicker-case. When he went away, Abū Hātim clapped his hands, calling at the same time towards the case: *Al-mubarrad! al-mubarrad! (who wants cool water!)* When the public heard of this, they kept it up against me." Some say that this surname was given to him by his master Abū Othmān al-Māzini, and others again explain it in a different manner.—*Habannaka* was the surname given to Abū 'l-Wadaāt—or Abū Nāfi—Yazīd Ibn Tharwān al-Kaisi, whose stupidity had become so notorious that it was proverbially said: (Such a one is) *more stupid than Habannaka al-Kaisi*.—One of his camels having gone astray, he offered two camels to whoever would bring it back. They said to him: "How can you offer two camels for one?" and he replied: "You do not know the pleasure it is to find what one has lost." This gave rise to the proverb. Verses were also made on him which got current (*among the tribes*), and the following piece, composed by Yahya Ibn al-Mubārak al-Yazidi, a person whose life we shall give, and directed against Shaiba Ibn al-Wālid al-Absi, the uncle of Dakāka, contains an allusion to the same subject:

Live protected by fortune and thy natural stupidity will harm thee not; those we see living in prosperity are merely the favorites of fortune. The man of tale often poor, and the fool enjoys opulence. Live protected by fortune, and you may like *Habannaka al-Kaisi* or *Shaiba Ibn al-Wālid*.

The circumstance which induced al-Yazidi to compose these lines was, that, being in a discussion with al-Kisāi at the court of al-Mahdi and in the presence of that khalif, he remarked that Shaiba Ibn al-Wālid, who happened to be there, displayed a great partiality for his adversary and even attacked himself. He in consequence lashed him in a number of pieces, from one of which these verses are taken.—*Dughā* was the surname of Māriya, the daughter of Rabia Ibn Saad

Ibn Ijl Ibn Lujaim. This Rabia bore the surname of Maghnaj or Mighnaj. Her silliness became so notorious that it was currently said : (Such a one is) *a greater fool than Dugha*. Ibn al-Kalbi assigns her a different origin in his *Jamhara tan-Nisab*; in speaking of the descendants of al-Anbar, he says : "And Jundub, the son of al-Anbar, engendered Adi, Kaab, and Owaij; their mother was Mâriya, the daughter of Rabia Ibn Saad Ibn Ijl, or, according to another statement, she was Dugha, the daughter of Maghnaj Ibn Zîâd." He therefore considers Mâriya and Dugha as different persons; whether he be in the right or not, God only knows! What established her character for silliness was that, having brought forth a child and hearing it cry, she said to her mother: "Is it the *jaar* which opens its mouth (*yaftah fâhâ*)?" to which the mother replied: "Yes; and it reviles its father (*yasubb abdâhâ*)." The word *jaar*, in its primitive acception, signifies the dung of any wild animal armed with claws. It was then applied, by a species of licence, to the excrements of other animals. Dugha, on bringing forth her child, imagined that it was an excrementitious discharge, and on hearing the child cry, she was filled with wonder and asked whence the noise proceeded. She had married a member of the family of al-Anbar Ibn Amr Ibn Tamîm, and, on her account, the Banû 'l-Anbar were called the *Banû 'l-Jârd* (*fili podicis*).—These notes, though foreign to our subject, furnish some curious particulars, and that induces me to insert them.

(1) Koran, sûrat 22, verse 45.

(2) See vol. I. page 340.

(3) The life of Ibn al-Jawâlikî is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) The author of the *Fihrest* notices two persons of the name of Abû Abd Allah an-Namari; the first an author of a treatise on colours, entitled *Kitâb al-Lumâ fî 'l-Âlwan*; of a work entitled *Maâni 'l-Hamdan*, perhaps a commentary on the *Hamdsa* of Abû Tammâm; and of a treatise having for title *كتاب الحلى*.—The other Abû Abd Allah an-Namari spoke with elegance the language of good society and that of the people *بين الكلام الخاص والعام*, but, says the author of the *Fihrest*, no works are mentioned as having been composed by him.—*Fihrest*, fol. 112, 121.



## IBN DURĀID.

Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Duraid Ibn Atāhiya Ibn Hantam Ibn Hasan Ibn Hāmāmi Ibn Jarw Ibn Wāsi Ibn Wahb Ibn Salama Ibn Hādīr Ibn Asad Ibn Adi Ibn Amr Ibn Mālik Ibn Fahm Ibn Ghānim Ibn Daus Ibn Adnān Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Zāhrān Ibn Kaab Ibn al-Hārith Ibn Kaab Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mālik Ibn Nasr Ibn al-Azd Ibn al-Gauth Ibn Nabī Ibn Mālik Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlān Ibn Saba Ibn Yashjub Ibn Yārūb Ibn Kahtān, a member of the tribe of Azd and a native of Basra, was the most accomplished scholar, the ablest philologist and the first poet of the age. Al-Masūdi speaks of him in these terms, in his *Murūj ad-Dahab*: "And, at Baghdad, Ibn Duraid was one of those who, in our times, excelled as a poet and attained eminence as a philologist. In this science he held the rank of al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad (*vol. I. p. 493*), and made known peculiarities of the (*Arabic*) language which had not been noticed in the works of his predecessors. In poetry he could assume every tone, from grave to gay; and his poetical productions are too numerous to be reckoned; otherwise, we should mention the greater part of them and have inserted them in this book. One of his best pieces is the *kastāda*, so well known under the title of *al-Maksūra*, in which he celebrates the praises of al-Shāh Ibn Mikāl and his son; the former, named Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mikāl, and the latter Abū 'l-Abbās Ismāil Ibn Abd Allah (1). It is said that, in this poem, he has inserted most of the words terminated by a short *alif* (*maksūr*). It begins thus :

"If thou seest my head resemble by its colour the rays of morning (*appearing*) underneath the training robe of darkness, and its white (*hairs*) shining through the black, as shineth the fire in a log of Ghada wood—(2)

He then adds: "In this well-known *kastāda*, he has had a number of imitators, such as Abū 'l-Kāsim Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Fahm al-Antākī at-Ta-nūkhī" (*vol. II. p. 304*), etc.—This poem has occupied the attention of many writers, in ancient and modern times, who explained its meaning and elucidated the signification of its words: the fullest of these commentaries is that composed

by the jurisconsult Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hishâm Ibn Ibrahim al-Lakhmi as-Sibtî (3), a modern author who died towards A. H. 570 (A. D. 1174). It was commented also by the *imâm* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Jaafar al-Kazzâz, the author of the philological treatise, the *Kitâb al-Jamî*: we shall give this writer's life. Amongst Ibn Duraid's most celebrated works are: the *Kitâb al-Jamhara* (the collection), a highly-esteemed philological treatise (4); the *Kitâb al-Ishtikâk* (on etymology); the *Kitâb as-Sarj wa 'l-Lijâm* (on the saddle and bridle) (5); a large and a small book on horses; a treatise on the *Awwâ* (influence of the stars on the weather); the *Kitâb al-Muktâbis* (book for him who seeks information); the *Kitâb al-Mulâhin* (the elucidator (?)); the *Kitâb Zâwâr il-Arab* (the Arabs noted for visiting their friends); the *Kitâb al-Lughât* (on the dialects [or idiomatic expressions] of the Arabs); the *Kitâb as-Silâh* (on weapons); the *Kitâb Gharth al-Kurân* (on the obscure expressions of the Koran); this work he left unfinished; the *Kitâb al-Mujtaba* (chosen selection), a work small in size but ample in matter; the *Wishâh* (embroidered belt), a short but instructive treatise. He composed also some beautiful poetry, and the men of learning in former times used to say: "Ibn Duraid is the most learned amongst poets and the ablest poet amongst the learned." In one of his pieces, the eulogistic portion is turned thus:

A brilliant (maiden); did her cheeks display their brightness to the rising sun, he could not shine; (her waist) a pliant branch waves on a round sand-hill (the haunches), and over it is seen a moon (her face) shining through the cover of the night (her dark hair). Were beauty told to choose its representative, it would not pass her by; and were it told to address any other female, it would not speak. The darkness of her hair (shades the world and) makes us think the sun is set; the brightness of her face (enlightens it and) makes us think him rising. She appears, and her lustre dazzles every eye; woe befall the eyes that close not then!

Were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much, I would give numerous passages from his poetry. He was born at Basra in the street (*sikka*) of Sâlih, A. H. 223 (A. D. 837-8), he passed his youth in that city, and there he made his studies. His masters were Abû Hâtim as-Sijistânî (vol. I. p. 603), ar-Riâshi (vol. II. p. 10), Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abd Allah, surnamed the nephew of al-Asmâi (Ibn Akht 'l-Asmâi) (6), Abû Othmân Saïd Ibn Hârûn al-Ushnân-dâni (7), author of the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî*, and others. He left Basra in company with his paternal uncle al-Husain, when the Zenj stormed that city and murdered ar-Riâshi (vol. II. p. 11). He then dwelt at Omân (8) twelve years. Having

returned to Baṣra, where he again resided for a time, he set out for Persia and there became the companion of the sons of Mikāl who were at that epoch the administrators of the province of Fars. It was for them that he composed his *Jamhara*. They appointed him director of the government office of Fars, and no official papers were published without his approval, neither was any order executory without his signature. He gained large sums in their service, but, being prodigal of his money and always ready to oblige, he never kept a dirhem in his possession, and indulged his generous inclinations to their full extent. In his *kastā*, the *Makṣra*, he introduced the eulogium of his patrons and received from them a present of ten thousand pieces of gold. In the year 308 (A. D. 920-1), subsequently to the deposition of the sons of Mikāl and their removal to Khorāsān, he proceeded to Baghdad, where he found a generous protector in Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Khuwāri. The imam al-Muktadir having been informed by al-Khuwāri of the history and high literary attainments of his guest, settled on him a monthly pension of fifty dinars, and this allowance was regularly continued to Ibn Duraid as long as he lived. This philologist could repeat from memory a vast number of poems and other pieces; in the quantity of productions which he had learned by heart he surpassed all his predecessors, and, when students read over, under his tuition, the poetical compositions of the Arabs of the Desert, he immediately repeated from memory the remainder of the piece which his pupil had commenced. Ad-Dārakutni (*vol. II. p. 239*) having been asked if Ibn Duraid was to be considered as a true transmitter of pieces preserved by tradition, replied that some doubts had been expressed on the subject; indeed, it is said that he was careless in his delivery of these pieces, attributing them to the first author whose name came uppermost. The philologist Abū Mansūr al-Azhari (*v. III. p. 49*) relates that, having gone to see Ibn Duraid, he found him drunk, "and therefore," said he, "I never returned to his house again." "When we went to see him," said Ibn Shāhin (*vol. I. p. 324*), "we were shocked at the sight of lutes hung up on the wall and of wine unmixed with water." It is related that a beggar having asked him for something, he bestowed on him a cask of wine, having nothing else to give at the time. One of his boys disapproved of this act and said to him: "How can you possibly give wine in charity (9)?"—"Why," replied Ibn Duraid, "that was the only thing I had." Some time afterwards, he received ten casks of wine as a pre-

sent, on which he observed to the same boy: "We bestowed one cask and receive it back tenfold." A great number of similar stories are told of him. Towards the ninetieth year of his age he lost the use of his side by a paralytic stroke, but recovered by drinking theriac. He then relapsed deeper than ever into his old habits and denied himself no indulgence. He resumed also his lessons, reciting and dictating to his scholars; but, a year afterwards, having eaten something which disagreed with him, the palsy returned. All his body, from head to foot, was completely paralysed, but he could still move his hands in a slight degree. When in this state, he uttered cries of pain if any person happened to enter the room, even without going near him. Alluding to this, his disciple Abû Ali Ismail al-Kâli al-Baghdâdi (*vol. I. p. 210*) made the following remark: "I said to myself: The Almighty has punished him thus, for having said, in his *Makshûra*, when speaking of time and its effects:

"(O Time!) thou hast engaged with one who, if the spheres fell on him from every point of heaven, would not utter a complaint (10)."

"And his sufferings were such that he would cry out like one trod under foot or pricked with needles, although the person who went in did not approach him." Though reduced to this miserable state, he retained all his mental faculties, and answered with perfect justness every question which was proposed to him. "He survived this attack two years," says Abû Ali, "and, whilst he was in that state, I consulted him on the points of philology respecting which I had doubts, and, as quick as thought, he returned me satisfactory answers. I asked him, one day, a question relative to a certain verse, and he replied: '*Had the light of my eyeballs been extinguished, you would not have found a person capable of satisfying your thirst for knowledge.*' And these very words, my son, were addressed to me by Abû Hâtim when I once happened to ask him a question; and he told me that al-Asmâi had spoken them to him under the same circumstances."—"To the last question I ever addressed to him," said Abû Ali, "he made this reply: *Hâl al-jarîd dîn al-karîd* (*choking has put a stop to verses*); and these were the last words I heard him utter. Before that time, he used frequently to recite this verse, applying it to himself:

"Wretch that I am! a life of pleasure was not mine, neither have I wrought a good deed whereby I may please God."

"The following anecdote," says al-Marzubāni (10), "was related to me by Ibn Duraid : I fell from (*the top of*) my house in Fars, and broke my collar-bone. I passed a sleepless night, and towards morning, having just closed my eyes, I dreamt that a tall pale man with a thin beard came to my room, and, having taken hold of the door posts, one in each hand, he said : 'Repeat to me the best verses you ever composed on wine.' I replied that Abū Nuwās (*vol. I. p. 394*) had left nothing for me or any one else to say on the subject. 'Well,' said he, 'I am a better poet than Abū Nuwās.' This induced me to ask him who he was, and he answered : 'Abū Nājiya, a native of Syria.' He then recited to me these lines :

"Red before it is mixed and pale after, (*this wine*) comes forth arrayed in narcissus (*yellow*) and in anemony (*red*); pure, it resembles the cheeks of the beloved; mixed, it assumes the (*pallid*) colour of the lover."

"When he had done, I declared the verses bad, and, on his asking my reason, I replied : 'You begin by calling it red, and then you say *arrayed in narcissus* and in anemony, thus putting the yellow colour first; why did you so?'— 'Such hypercriticism is most untimely, you reprobate!' was his answer." In another version of this anecdote it is stated that Abū Ali 'l-Fārisi said : "Ibn Duraid recited me these two lines, composed by himself, and told me that Satan appeared to him in a dream and asked him if he had not essayed to rival Abū Nuwās? Ibn Duraid answered that he had. 'Well,' said Satan, 'your verses are not bad, but you have committed one fault.'" The rest of the narration agrees with what precedes.—Ibn Duraid died at Baghdad on Wednesday, the 17th of Shaabān, A.H. 321 (August, A.D. 933), and was buried on the east side of the river, in the Abbāsiya cemetery. His tomb is situated behind the Arnas Bazar, near the main street (*as-Shārī 'l-Aazam*). The celebrated Motazelite divine Abū Hāshim Abd as-Salām al-Jubbāi (*vol. II. p. 132*) died the same day, and this caused the people to say : "To-day, philology and theology have ceased to exist!" It is stated that he lived precisely ninety-three years. Jahza tal-Barmaki (*vol. I. p. 118*) lamented his death in the following lines :

Learning disappeared when Ibn Duraid made the third with the gravestone and the earth (*tarb*). I at first lamented the departure of generosity, but I now lament the departure of generosity and erudition.

*Tarb* (an unusual word) is the plural of *tarba*, (a lump of earth.)—*Duraid* is the *tarkhīm* diminutive of *Adrad* (toothless). This species of diminutive is called *tarkhīm* (softening), because the letter *a*, the initial of the primitive word, is suppressed; it is thus that of *aswad* and *azhar* they form *suwaid* and *zuhair*.—*Hantham*, the name of one of his ancestors (mentioned at the commencement of this article), means an earthen jar coated with green varnish; it is used also as a proper name for men.—*Hamāmi*, another of his ancestors, was, according to the emir Abū Nasr Ibn Mākūla (vol. II. p. 248), the first of the family who became a convert to Islamism. He was one of the seventy horsemen who accompanied Amr Ibn al-Aāsi from Omān to Medina, on learning that the Prophet was dead; the circumstance is well known (12).—*Hāl al-jarīd dān al-karīd* is a well-known proverb; it originated with Abīd Ibn al-Abras, an ante-islamic poet, who pronounced these words on meeting an-Nomān Ibn al-Mundir al-Lakhmi, the last king of Hira, in one of his bad days (13). An-Nomān resolved to put him to death according to the custom he had adopted, but first asked him to repeat some verses of his own composing; Abīd, who had discovered his intentions, replied: *Hāl-al-jarīd dān al-karīd* (choking has put a stop to verses). It was as if the poet had said: Strangulation has put a stop to the reciting of verses. It is a well known story, and I merely give its outline here (14).—*Abīd*, for so his name must be pronounced, was a celebrated poet, contemporary with Abīd al-Muttalib Ibn Hāshim, the grandfather of the Prophet.

(1) According to ad-Dahabī, in his *Annals*, life of Ibn Duraid, that philologist was employed by Abīd Allāh Ibn Mikāl, who was then governor of al-Ahwāz for the khalif al-Muktadir, as preceptor to his son Ismail.—MS. No. 646, fol. 113 v.

(2) See vol. II. page 453.

(3) The manuscript of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 490, *ancien fonds*, contains a very ample and learned commentary on Ibn Duraid's *Makṣūra*. Although the first pages of this commentary have disappeared, it may be easily perceived by a comparison with the edition of the *Makṣura* and of the commentary of Ibn Hishām, the first part of which was published at Copenhagen in 1828 by L. N. Boisen, that the *Bib. du Roi* possesses, in this MS., the great commentary of Ibn Hāshim al-Lakhmi, and that the printed edition of it is a mere abridgment.

(4) A copy of the last half of the *Jamhara* is in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*.

(5) See the observations in page xxiii of the Introduction to vol. I.

(6) "*Ibn Akhi 'l-Asma'i*: al-Yazīdī writes as follows: His name was Abīd ar-Rahmān Abū Muḥammad, some say, Abū 'l-Hasan. He was a dull heavy man, but the pieces which he transmitted orally on the authority of his uncle and other learned men are held to be correct. He composed a treatise on the ideas occurring in poetry (*Maḍnī 's-Shir*)."—(*Fihrest*, fol. 73 v.)

(7) The name of Abū Othmān al-Ushnāndāni occurs in the *Fihrest*, fol. 81 v. and 115 v. He is there stated to have been one of the learned men of Bāsa and the author of a *Kitāb Madnī 's-Shir*, and a *Kitāb al-Abyāt*.

(8) Perhaps the word عمان must be pronounced *Amman*. There was a city of this name in the Balkā of Syria. Omān is that province of Arabia which is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf.

(9) To give wine in charity is an infringement of the Moslim law.

(10) Horace has said, in a similar strain: Si fractus illabatur orbis, Impavidum ferient ruinae. — (Od. 3. 3. 7.)

(11) His life will be found in this volume.

(12) None of the historians whom I have consulted allude to this circumstance.

(13) See Pococke's *Specimen hist. ar.* 2nd ed. p. 73.

(14) Le roi d'Atwa (Moundhir ou Noman) avait deux amis qui étaient ses convives habituels. Un jour, irrité de quelques propos imprudents qu'ils avaient tenus, et échauffé par les fumées du vin, il ordonna de les mettre à mort. Le lendemain, revenu de son ivresse, il fut vivement affligé et fit élever hors de Hira, deux mausolées à ses amis. Il s'imposa la loi de passer, tous les ans, deux jours auprès de ces monuments funèbres. L'un de ces jours fut appelé *jour de bien* يوم نعيم, l'autre *jour de mal* يوم بؤس. La première personne qui se présenta au roi assis près des mausolées, dans le jour de bien, il la combla de présents; la première qui s'offrait à sa vue, dans le jour de mal, il la faisait périr et on arrosait de son sang les deux mausolées, qui furent nommés العربان. Dans un de ses mauvais jours le roi étant près des mausolées, vit venir le poète Abīd qu'il connaissait et qu'il aimait, Ah! lui dit-il, pourquoi faut-il que tu sois la victime que je dois immoler! au moins, recite-moi une dernière fois ta pièce de vers.—Le gosier serré par l'angoisse, répondit Abīd, ne peut articuler des vers دال الحريص دون القرص.—Choisis, dit le roi, quelle veine tu veux que l'on t'ouvre, celle du col, celle du bras, ou celle de la jambe?—Si tu es décidé à m'ôter la vie, reprit Abīd, fais-moi donner du vin et quand j'aurai bu jusqu'à ce que la sensibilité soit éteinte en moi, tu feras ce que tu voudras. On apporta du vin au poète, et lorsqu'il fut enivré on lui ouvrit une veine du col et on arrosa de son sang les deux mausolées.—(*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, tom IV. fol. 260.)—(A. Caussin de Perceval.)

### ABU OMAR AZ-ZAHID AL-MUTARRIZ.

Abū Omar Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wāhid Ibn Abi Hāshim al-Bāwardi, generally known by the appellation of al-Mutarriz and surnamed *Ghulām Thālab* (*Thālab's boy*), received also the denomination of az-Zāhid (*the ascetic*) for his mortified life, and ranked among the most eminent and the most learned of the philologists. For a considerable time, he had been an assiduous disciple of Abū 'l-Abbās Thālab (*vol. I. p. 83*), and to this circumstance he was indebted for his surname. He acquired a great stock of information under the tuition of that master; on whose work, the *Faṣṭh*, he composed two treatises, the first, a small volume of corrections, and entitled *Fāit al-Faṣṭh* (*omissions of the Faṣṭh*),

the second, a commentary, forming also one volume. His other works were the *Kitāb al-Yawākit* (book of jewels); the *Kitāb al-Jurjāni*; the *Kitāb al-Mālih* (the elucidator); the *Kitāb as-Sā'it* (book of hours); the *Kitāb Yaum wa Laila* (book of the day and the night); the *Kitāb al-Mustahsan* (the approved); the *Kitāb al-Asharāt* (book of decennaries); the *Kitāb as-Shūra* (treatise on counsel); the *Kitāb al-Buyū'āt* (treatise on sales); a treatise on the meaning of the names of the poets; a work on the Arabian tribes; the *Kitāb al-Maknūn wa 'l-Maktūm* (the concealed and the hidden); the *Kitāb at-Tuffāha* (on the apple); the *Kitāb al-Maddkhil*; the *Hal al-Muddakhil*; the *Kitāb an-Nawādir* (book of anecdotes); the *Kitāb Fāit al-Ain* (omissions of [al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad (vol. I. p. 493) in his work] the *Ain*; the *Kitāb Fāit al-Jamhara* (omissions of [Ibn Duraid (vol. III. p. 38) in his work] the *Jamhara*), and a notice on the expressions which the Arabs of the Desert reprehended as inaccurate in the lessons and writings of Abū Obaid (vol. II. p. 486). Many rare obsolete terms of the language were made known by Abū Omar, and the greater part of the words indicated by Ibn as-Sid al-Batalyausi (vol. II. p. 64), in his *Ternary*, is taken from his indications. Many strange stories are told of this philologist. The information which he communicated to his scholars was then transmitted down by Abū 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Zarkūya, Abū Ali Ibn Shādān, and others. His birth took place in the year 264 (A. D. 874-5, and he died at Baghdad, on Sunday, the 13th of Zū 'l-Kaada, A. H. 345 February, A. D. 957, or 344. He was interred the next day in the cloister (*suffa*) situated near the tomb of Mārūf al-Karkhi (4), from which it is only separated by the road. Abū Omar devoted himself to study with such assiduity that he had not time to provide for his livelihood, and always remained in a state of poverty. The quantity of information which he communicated to his disciples and of the pieces which he knew by heart was so great that the learned men of that time impugned as false the greater part of his philological observations, and they used to say that if a bird flew by, Abū Omar would bring forward something on the subject, heading it with these words: "Thālab told us, on the authority of Ibn al-Aārābi, that," etc. He is considered, however, as a correct and trustworthy Traditionist by all competent masters in that branch of knowledge. The greater portion of the works and pieces which he taught was dictated by him from memory without his having recourse to a book; it is said that the philological matter which he thus made



known filled thirty thousand leaves of paper. It was this copiousness which exposed him to the imputation of falsehood. A number of persons concerted together and imagined a question which they might propose to him; when they obtained his answer, they let a year pass over, and then submitted to him the same question, but his answer corresponded exactly with that which he had previously given. A similar attempt to ensnare him was made by some persons who were going to hear his lessons: they happened to be conversing of the vast quantity of information which he was ever ready to communicate, and observed that, by this very talent, he had incurred the imputation of falsehood. On their way, they passed by a bridge, and one of them said: "Let us write down the name of this bridge and ask him about it; we shall see what answer he makes." When they entered the place where Abû Omar was, that person addressed him, saying: "O *shaikh!* what does the word *bridge* (*kantara*) mean with the Arabs?" The professor answered that it meant so and so (*stating its different significations*), and his auditors received this answer with a secret smile. A month afterwards, they set forward a person to ask him about that particular *bridge*, on which he replied: "Was not the same question proposed to me a month ago, and did I not answer it so and so?" On hearing these words, the assembly was filled with admiration at his quick apprehension, acuteness, and promptitude in calling to mind the question and the time at which it had been proposed; but whether his answer was exact or not, they had no means of verifying.—Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih (*vol. I. page 155*) had given the command of the Baghdad police-guards to one of his young slaves whose name was Khuwāja. When Abû Omar heard of this appointment, he was dictating to his scholars the contents of his *Kitāb al-Yawdkūt* (*book of jewels*), and at his next lesson he said, on taking his seat: "Write: *Yākūt* "*khuwāja* (*a merchant's jewel*); the word *khuwāj*, in the dialect of the Arabs, means *hunger*." He then discussed this subject in its various ramifications and made his scholars write down his remarks. The persons present were struck with amazement at his boidness in advancing such falsehoods, and began to look out for the word in the treatises of philology (2). Abû Ali al-Hātimī (*vol. III. p. 75*), the *kātib* and philologist, said: "We extracted from a dictation made by al-Hāmid (*vol. I. p. 591*) on the authority of al-Aṣmāi who cites al-Aṣrābī, that the word *khuwāj* means *hunger*."—Abû Omar al-Mu-

tarriz was giving lessons to the son of the *kādi* Abū Omar Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf, and one day he dictated to him nearly one hundred philological questions, indicating their niceties and concluding with two lines of poetry. (*Some time after*,) Abū Bakr Ibn Duraid (*vol. III. p. 38*) came in to the *kādi* Abū Omar's, with Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (*vol. III. p. 55*) and Abū Bakr Ibn Muksim (3). The *kādi* submitted to them these questions, but they had no idea of them and knew nothing of the verses. "Well," said the *kādi*, "what say you to that?" —"For my part," said Ibn al-Anbārī, "I am so much engaged in composing "a treatise on the obscurities of the Koran (*Mushkil al-Kurʾān*), that I can say "nothing on the subject." Ibn Muksim answered in similar terms, pretending that he was taken up with the *readings* of the Koran, but Ibn Duraid declared positively that the questions were all of (*the philologist*) Abū Omar's invention and had no foundation whatever in the language: after this, they withdrew. When Abū Omar heard of what had passed, he went to the *kādi* and told him to bring in the collected poetical works (*diwāns*) of some ancient poets whom he named. The *kādi* opened his library and took out the books. Abū Omar then began to discuss each question successively and adduced from these *diwāns* a number of passages in proof of all his statements and pointed out those passages to the *kādi*. On concluding, he said: "As for the two verses, they "were recited by Thālab in your own presence, and you yourself wrote them "down on the cover of such a work," naming it. The *kādi* brought in the book and found the verses written on the cover and in his own handwriting. —"I found," said the Rais ar-Ruasā (4), "in the works of the philologists, and "particularly in Abū Obaid's *Gharīb al-Musannaf*, many of the expressions "which had been considered as the mere fabrications of Abū Omar."—Abū 'l-Kāsim Abd al-Wāhid Ibn Ali Ibn Barhān al-Asadi said: "None of the "ancients or of the moderns ever treated philological points so well as Abū "Omar az-Zāhid."—Abū Omar composed a *Gharīb al-Hadīth* (*obscure terms occurring in the Traditions*), founded on Ahmad Ibn Hanbal's work, the *Masnad*, and on this production he set the highest value.—Abū Ali Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Hatimi said. "An indisposition having prevented me from attending "the sittings of Abū Omar az-Zāhid, some days passed over and he at length "asked for me. Being informed that I was unwell, he came the next morning

“ to see me, and, as I happened to have gone out to take a bath, he wrote the following line on my door with a piece of chalk :

“ The strangest thing we ever heard of is that of a sick man whom people come to visit, but cannot find.

“ The verse was his own.”—*Mutarriz* signifies an *embroiderer*; as Abū Omar practised that art, he derived from it a surname which has been borne also by other learned men.—Abū Omar professed an excessive admiration of Moawia, and, having composed a treatise on the merits of that khalif, he obliged every person who came to study under him to read that book. He was a man of great merit and extensive information, but what we have said in this article must suffice.—I looked out for the name of Abū Omar in as-Samāni's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, under the word AL-MUTARRIZ; he does not mention him, but he speaks of a poet called Abū 'l-Kāsim Abd al-Wāhid Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Aiyūb al-Mutarriz, a native of Baghdad; this may perhaps be the father of Abū Omar, if we are to judge from his name; if not, he is a person unknown to me. As-Samāni adds that his poetry bore a high reputation and obtained great publicity. He then cites the following passage of his composition :

Overcome with grief, we stopped at as-Sarāt (5) one evening, to exchange adieus; and, despite of envious foes, we stood unsealing (*the packets of*) every passionate desire. On saying farewell, she saw me borne down by the pains of love and granted me a kiss. Impelled by startled modesty, she drew her cloak across her face, on which I said: “The full-moon has now become a crescent.” I then kissed her through the cloak, and she observed: “My kisses are wine, to be tasted on passing through the “strainer.”

Although as-Samāni says nothing of Abū Omar in that article, he mentions him under the head of GHULAM THALAB, adding the remarks which we have already made at the commencement of this notice.—Since writing the above, a number of years had elapsed when I found at Baghdad the *Diwān* of Abū Kāsim Abd al-Wāhid, surnamed al-Mutarriz. He was a native of that city, and the greater part of his poetry is very good. His birth took place in the year 354 (A. D. 965-6), and his death in 439, on Sunday, the first of the latter Jumāda (November, A. D. 1047). It is therefore evident that he was not the father of Abū Omar, but another person of the same trade,—*Bāwurdi* means *belonging to*

*Bāward* or *Abiward*, a village in Khorāsān and the native place of Abū 'l-Muzaḥḥār al-Abiwardī, a poet whose life we shall give.

(1) The life of Mārūf will be found in this work.

(2) Regular dictionaries did not then exist.

(3) The *imām* Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Yaqūb Ibn Muḥsin al-Attār, a learned Koran-reader and grammarian of Baghdad, composed some works on the koranic sciences, one of which, the *Kitāb al-Anwār* (*book of lights*) contains an explanation of the meaning, and an elucidation of the style, of the Koran. Having adopted the *readings* taught by Ibn Shanbūd (*see page 16 of this vol.*), he gave such scandal to the public that he was cited before an assembly of doctors presided by Ibn Mujāhid and forced to retract, but on the death of Mujāhid he returned to his former opinions. Born A. H. 268 (A. D. 878-9; died A. H. 334 (A. D. 945).—(*Tabakāt al-Kurra*, fol. 84.)

(4) The *Rāis* ar-Ruḥānī Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Muslima, vizir to the khalif al-Kāim, commenced his career in a subordinate station at Baghdad, and rose by his talents to the vizirate. He was versed in jurisprudence, the Traditions, and other sciences. Having incurred the enmity of the Turkish guards, he was expelled by them from Baghdad, but returned soon after; being then attacked by Abū 'l-Ḥarith al-Basāstri at-Turki (*see vol. I. page 172*), and having fallen into the hands of his enemy, he perished in excruciating tortures, A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058).—(*Ad-Dual al-Islamiya*.)—Heiske calls him *supremus Ratis*; see *Abulfeda Annales*, t. III p. 173.

(5) See vol. I. page 318.

## ABU MANSUR AL-AZHARI.

Abū Mansūr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Azhar Ibn Talha Ibn Nūh Ibn Azhar al-Azhari al-Harawī (*native of Herat*), a philologist of the highest rank and celebrity, was a doctor of the Shafite sect, but addicted himself so exclusively to the study of the language that his reputation is founded on his acquirements in that branch of knowledge. His piety, his talents, and his exactitude as a transmitter of philological information were universally acknowledged. The matter of his lessons was derived by him from the philologist Abū 'l-Faḍl Muhammad Ibn Abi Ja'far al-Mundiri, who had received it from Abū 'l-Abbās Thālab and other masters. Having proceeded to Baghdad, he met Ibn Duraid, but never taught any thing on his authority. He received also a part of his information from Abū Abd Allah Ibrahim Ibn Arafā, surnamed Niftawāh (*vol. I. p. 26*), and from Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn as-Sari, a grammarian more generally known by the

name of Ibn as-Sarrāj. (We shall give his life.) Some say, however, that he obtained no part of his information from the latter person. To acquire a more complete knowledge of the Arabic language, al-Azhari travelled over Arabia; and a person of merit has stated that he read a note, to the following effect, in Abū Mansūr's handwriting: "I had the misfortune to be made a prisoner, the year in which the Karmats intercepted the pilgrim-caravan at al-Habir. The people to whose share I fell were Arabs, bred in the desert; they passed the grazing-time in visiting with their flocks the regions in which rain had fallen, and, in the hot season, they returned to a number of watering-places situated at the spots where they usually stationed; they kept camels and lived on the milk of these animals; they spoke an idiom suited to their Bedwin habits, and very rarely indeed, did they mispronounce a word or commit a gross fault of language. I remained in bondage amongst them for a long time; our winters we passed at ad-Dahnā, our springs at as-Sammān, and our summers at as-Sitārān. From discoursing with them and from their conversation one with the other, I learned a great quantity of words and singular expressions; and most of these I inserted in my book"—by his *book* he means the *Tahdīb*—"where you will find them classed under their proper heads." He again resumes the subject in this discourse, and mentions that he passed two winters at as-Sammān. Abū Mansūr al-Azhari had a passion for collecting loose scraps of philology and possessed a perfect acquaintance with all the secrets and niceties of the language. His philological treatise, the *Tahdīb* (arrangement) fills upwards of ten volumes and is a highly-esteemed work. His *Gharīb al-ʿAlfāz* (signification of rare words), a work in one volume, is held by juriconsults as their main authority for the signification of every obscure and doubtful word in the law language. The *Kutub al-Tafsīr* (liber interpretationis koranicæ(?)) is another of his productions. At Baghdad he met Abū Ishak az-Zajjāj (vol. I. p. 28) and Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī, but has given nothing on the authority of either. He was born A.H. 282 (A.D. 895-6), and he died at Herat towards the close of the year 370 (ends in July, A.D. 984). Some place his death a year later.—The surname al-Azhari he derived from the circumstance of having an ancestor who bore the name of Azhar.—Of Harawī we have already spoken (vol. I. p. 78).—The Karmats (*Karamita*) were so called after a man named *Karīm*, who belonged to the Sawād (4) of Kūfa. They held a most re-

prehensible doctrine, and they made their first appearance in the year 281 (A.D. 894-5), under the khalifate of al-Motadid billah. This sect subsisted for a long period and acquired such strength that it not only rendered the roads dangerous for travellers, but conquered a great number of provinces. Of these events a full account will be found in the works of historians (2). The combat of *al-Habir* to which al-Azbari alludes, took place A. H. 344 (A. D. 923-4); the Karmats, who had then for chief Abū Tāhir al-Jannābi al-Kirmiti, mastered the pilgrim-caravan, slew some of the travellers, reduced others to slavery, and seized on all their property. This occurred in the khalifate of al-Muktadir, son of al-Motadid. It is said that the Karmats made their first appearance in the year 278 (A. D. 891-2), and that their first chief was Abū Saïd al-Jannābi, who established his authority in the province of Bahrain and Hajar. He was murdered in the year 304 (A.D. 913-4) by one of his slaves. Abū Tāhir lost his life in A. H. 332 (A. D. 943-4).—*Jannābi* means *belonging to Jannābu*, a town in the province of Bahrain, and situated on the sea-coast, near Sirāf.—*Habir* (*as an appellative noun*) signifies *a low ground*.—*Ad-Dahnā*, or *ad-Dahna* with a short final *a*, is the name of a large tract of country in the Arabian desert, forming part of the territory belonging to the tribe of Tamim. It is said to consist of seven mountains of sand; according to some, it is situated in the desert of Basra and in the territory of the tribe of Saad.—*As-Sammān* is a red mountain in the neighbourhood of ad-Dahnā; an easy road leads across it in three days' time, and its height is not great. Some say that it is situated near the sandy desert of Aālīj, at nine days' journey from Basra.—*As-Sitārān*, the dual of *Sitār*, is a name serving to designate two valleys which lie in the territory of the tribe of Saad; one of them is called *as-Sitār al-Aghbar* (*the dusty Sitār*), the other the *as-Sitār al-Hāiri* (3), and both bear the denomination of *Sāda*. They contain some springs of running water which serve to irrigate date-trees. The preceding remarks have no direct connexion with our subject, but, as they serve to explain some words which might embarrass the reader of this compilation, we have judged it useful to insert them.

(1) See vol. II. page 417.

(2) Ibn Khallikān has already given some account of them. See vol. I. p. 427 *et seq.*

(3) The MS. of al-Yāqūt's *Mushtarik*, in the *Bib. du Roi*, reads *al-Jabiri* (الجبيري).

## ABU ABD ALLAH AL-YAZIDI.

Abû Abd Allah. Muhammad Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Muhammad al-Yazidi, a *mawla* to the tribe of Adi Ibn Abd Manât (*al-Adawi*), was a grammarian and philologist of the highest rank, a relator of (*philological*) anecdotes and a transmitter of the phraseology current among the Arabs of the desert. We shall give the life of his ancestor Abû Muhammad Yahya Ibn al-Mubârak. One of the anecdotes told by him was the following: An Arab of the desert loved a female of the same region and sent her, by a slave, a present of thirty sheep and a skin filled with wine. On the way, the slave killed one of the sheep and eat a portion of it, and drank part of the contents of the wine-skin. When he brought the rest to her, she perceived the trick, and on the slave's asking her, when about to return, if she had any message to send back, she resolved on acquainting the master with the fellow's conduct, and answered: "Give him my salutation, and tell him that our month was *mahâk*, and that Suhaim, the keeper of our sheep, came here with a bloody nose (*marthâm*)." The slave, not knowing what she intended by these expressions, bore them back to his master, who immediately perceived their drift, and calling for a cudgel, said to the messenger: "Tell me the truth, or I will give you a sound drubbing." The slave confessed his fault and obtained pardon. This message contained the most subtle and elegant allusions to what the slave had done. The word *marthâm* means one whose nose is broken and bleeds; *ratham*, another derivative of the same root, means a white spot on the upper-lip of a horse. *Marthum* is employed metaphorically to designate a wine or water-skin (1). — He left some works, such as the *Kutâb al-Khail* (book of horses), the *Manâkib*, etc. (*merits of the Abbâsides*), the *Akhdâr al-Yazidiyyin* (*history of the Yazid family*), and a compendious treatise on grammar. Having been employed, towards the close of his life, as preceptor to the children of al-Muktadir billah, he filled that office for some time. Soon after his entry into the khalif's service, one of his friends met him and asked his protection, but he replied: "I am too busy for that." Abû Abd Allah al-Yazidi died on the eve of Monday, the 18th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 310 (October, A.D. 922), at the age of eighty-two years and three months. — *Yazidi* here means

related to Yazîd Ibn Mansûr; of this we shall again speak, in the life of his ancestor Abû Muhammad Yahya Ibn al-Mubâarak.

(1) Our author has here imitated the manner of many Arabian commentators, who explain what is clear enough and pass over what is obscure. He might have added that a *maḥḍ* month is one, on the last night of which there is no moonshine. So that it contains only twenty-nine moonlight nights in place of thirty. The expression: *the month was maḥḍ* is therefore equivalent to *one of the thirty was wanting*. This, of course, referred to the thirty sheep. Our author might also have observed that *Suḥaīm*, a very common Bedwīn name, means *the little black*; an epithet designating perfectly well a wine-skin rubbed over with pitch to preserve it.

### IBN AS-SARRAJ THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn as-Sari Ibn Sahl the grammarian, generally known by the name of Ibn as-Sarrāj, was one of the most distinguished masters in that science, and his high abilities in it and in philology are universally acknowledged. Amongst the persons from whom he acquired his philological information was Abû 'l-Abbās al-Mubarrad (*vol. III. p. 31*); and some eminent masters, such as Abû Saïd as-Sirāfi (*vol. I. p. 377*), and Ali Ibn Isa ar-Rummāni (*vol. II. p. 242*), studied it under his tuition. Al-Jauhari cites his authority in a number of passages in his *Sahḥ*. Ibn as-Sarrāj composed some grammatical works of great repute, and his *Kitāb al-Osāl* (*principles*), one of the best treatises on the subject, is always referred to when the traditional information on any grammatical point is uncertain or contradictory. His other works are the *Jumal al-Osāl* (*the collected principles*), a short treatise called the *Mājaz* (*compendium*); the *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāk* (*on etymology*), a commentary on Sibawaihi's *Kitāb* (*vol. II. page 396*), the *Ithḥāj al-Kurrā* (*appreciation of the motives which influenced Koran-readers in their readings*), the *Book of the Poets and of Poetry*, the *Book of the Winds, the Air, and Fire*, the *Book of the Camel*, and the *Kitāb al-Muḥāsikāt* (*book of loving unions, or book of gifts*). He pronounced the letter *r* incorrectly, giving it the sound of *gh*, and happening, one day, to dictate a word in which this letter occurred, and perceiving that his disciple wrote it with a *ghain*, he



exclaimed: "No, no! with a *gha*, with a *gha*!" (1) I found in an anthology some verses attributed to him, but am unable to ascertain whether they are really his or not. They relate to a girl whom the poet loved and are familiar to most persons. The lines to which I allude are these:

I compared her beauty with her conduct, and found that her charms did not counterbalance her perfidy. She swore to me never to be false, but 'twas as if she had sworn never to be true. By Allah! I shall never speak to her again, even though she resembled in beauty the full moon, or the sun, or al-Muktafi!

This article was already terminated when I discovered that these verses are certainly his, and a curious anecdote is connected with them: The author, Abû Bakr, loved a young girl, but she treated him with marked disdain: it happened at that time that the imâm (*khalîf*) al-Muktafi returned from ar-Rakka, and the people assembled to witness his entry into the city, and Abû Bakr was so much struck with his beauty that he recited these verses to his companions. Some time after, the *kâtib* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ismail Ibn Zenji (2) repeated them to Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn al-Furât (*vol. II. p. 358*), saying that they were composed by Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p. 44*), and Abû 'l-Abbâs communicated them to the vizir al-Kâsim Ibn Obaid Allah (*vol. II. p. 300*). The latter then went to the khalif and recited the verses to him, adding that they were by Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir (*vol. II. p. 79*), to whom al-Muktadir immediately ordered a present of one thousand dinars. "How very strange," said Ibn Zenji, "that Abû Bakr Ibn as-Sarrâj should compose verses which were to procure a donation to Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir!" Abû Bakr died on Sunday, the 26th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 346 (February, A. D. 929).—*Sarrâj* means a *saddler*.

(1) He meant to say: *with a râ*.

(2) "Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ismail Ibn Zenji, a *kâtib* celebrated for the beauty of his penmanship, left a collection of epistles composed by himself and a work entitled: *كتاب الكتاب والصناعة*."—*Fihrest*, fol. 178.)

## IBN AL-ANBARI THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abi Muhammad al-Kâsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bashshâr Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Baiyân Ibn Samâa Ibn Farwa Ibn Katan Ibn Diâma al-Anbârî the grammarian, and author of various well-known treatises on grammar and philology, was the most learned man of his time in the different branches of general literature, and their superior also by the quantity of literary matter which he knew by heart. He was a voracious and conscientious traditionist, pious, virtuous, and a strict follower of the *sunna*. Amongst his numerous works were treatises on the different Koranic sciences, on the rare and the obscure expressions occurring in the Koran, on the pause, on the commencement of phrases, a refutation of those who impugn the edition of the Koran in general use, and a book called *az-Zâhir* (*the blooming*). High praise is bestowed on him by the Khatib (*vol. I. p. 75*) in his History of Baghdad; this author says: "I have been informed that Abû Bakr made dictations even in his father's lifetime, each of them dictating in a different part of the mosque. His father was learned in philology, and an exact, voracious, and trustworthy transmitter of literary pieces preserved by tradition. He inhabited Baghdad. A number of learned men and his own son delivered such pieces on his authority. He composed a treatise on the (*names of the parts of the*) human frame, a treatise on the frame of the horse, a book of proverbs, a treatise on the long and the short final *alif*, a treatise on the genders, a treatise on the uncommon expressions occurring in the Traditions and other works." Abû Ali al-Kâli (*vol. I. p. 240*) says: "It is stated that Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbârî knew by heart three hundred thousand verses illustrative of expressions occurring in the Koran, and that a person having said to him: 'The great quantity of pieces which you know by heart is often spoken of; how much do you really know?' he answered: 'I have in my memory (*as much as would fill*) thirteen chests.'" It is mentioned that he knew by heart one hundred and twenty explanations of the Koran with their *indds* (1). Abû 'l-Hasan ad-Darakutni (*vol. II. p. 239*) relates that, on a certain Friday, he happened to be present at one of the sittings held by Ibn al-Anbârî for the purpose of making dictations, and that he gave a

wrong pronunciation to a name occurring in the *isnâd* of a Tradition. "He said *Haiyân* (حيان)," relates ad-Darakutni, "instead of *Habbân* (حبان), or *Hab-bân* instead of *Haiyân*. I thought it would be a pity that an error of this kind should be adopted and propagated on the authority of so able and so eminent a man as Ibn al-Anbârî, but not daring to acquaint him with his mistake, I waited till the lesson was over, and approached the disciple to whom the dictations were directly addressed, pointing out the error of the master and informing him of the true reading. I then retired. The following Friday, I attended the next sitting, and Abû Bakr said: 'Let it be known to all here present, that, last Friday, in dictating a certain Tradition, I gave a wrong pronunciation to a name, and that youth indicated the true one; and let that youth know that I referred to the source whence I derived the Tradition and found the word written as he said.' " Amongst Ibn al-Anbârî's works may be noticed his *Gharîb al-Hadîth* (*unusual terms occurring in the Traditions*), filling, it is said, forty-five thousand leaves, a commentary on the grammatical treatise the *Kâfi* (2), filling about one thousand leaves; a treatise on the final *h*, in about one thousand leaves; a list of words each of which bears two contrary significations, the *Kitâb al-Jâhiliyyât* (3), filling seven hundred leaves, a treatise on the genders, the most complete ever composed; the *Risâla tal-Mushkil* (*epistola dubii* (?)) in which he refutes Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p. 22*) and Abû Hâtim (*vol. I. p. 603*). He was born on Sunday, the 11th of Rajab, A. H. 274 (January, A. D. 885), and he died on the eve of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 328 (August, A. D. 940); some say, A. H. 327.—His father al-Kâsim died at Baghdad, A. H. 304 (A. D. 916-7); some say, in the month of Safar, A. H. 305.—We have explained the meaning of the word *Anbârî* (*vol. II. p. 58*).—At one of his dictations he quoted the following verses by a Bedwin Arab:

When you hindered her from speaking to me, why did you not hinder her image from leaving the distant region where she now resides and visiting my slumbers in its unerring course? May God shed his favour on a certain dwelling, in the sands of the tribe's reserved grounds, although the aspect of its ruins made me betray the passion I concealed. Were my corpse borne on its bier past these abodes, the very owl which dwells therein would say: "O my friend I come and stay with me."

At another sitting, he dictated these lines:

In the white regions of al-Orba, if you visit its people, you will see fair gazelles

roaming at liberty without a keeper. They go forth for the pleasure of encountering danger, and incur no jealous suspicions; chaste they are, and he who wishes to sport with them may despair.

(1) See vol. I. page xxii.

(2) Hajji Khalifa notices a treatise on grammar entitled the *Kaḥḥ*, and composed by Abū Jaafar Ahmad Ibn an-Nahhās. As this grammarian was a pupil of Ibn al-Anbārī's (see vol. I. p. 81), it is possible that the commentary mentioned by Ibn Khallikān referred to the work of Ibn an-Nahhās. The author of the *Fihrest* mentions the grammatical treatise the *Kaḥḥ*, as the work of Ibn al-Anbārī himself, and takes no notice of the commentary.

(3) This appears to have been a collection of poems composed in the times anterior to Islamism, a work similar to the *Mufaddaliyyāt* (see page 26 of this volume). What may help to confirm this conjecture is, that in the list of Ibn al-Anbārī's works, as given in the *Fihrest*, fol. 105 v. we find a *Kitāb al-Mufaddaliyyāt* and no *Kitāb al-Jāhiliyyāt*.

## ABU 'L-AINĀ.

Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Kāsim Ibn Khallād Ibn Yāsir Ibn Sulaimān al-Hāshimī (*a member, by enfranchisement, of the Hāshim family*), surnamed Abū 'l-Ainā, was a *mawla* to (*the khalif*) Abū Jaafar al-Mansūr. The family of Abū 'l-Ainā, who was a blind man, remarkable for his repartees, verses, and literary knowledge, belonged to (*the province of*) al-Yamāma (*in Arabia*), but he himself was born at al-Ahwāz and bred at Basra. He there learned Traditions and cultivated literature, having heard the lessons of Abū Obaida (1), al-Asmāi (*vol. II. p. 123*), Abū Zaid al-Ansārī (*vol. I. p. 570*), al-Oṭbi (2), and other masters. He was an excellent *hāfiẓ* and spoke with great elegance; fluent in his discourse, prompt in his repartees, and surpassing in penetration and sharpness all his contemporaries, he ranked among the most brilliant wits of the age. Numerous amusing anecdotes are related of what passed between him and Abū 'Alī ad-Darir (3), and of the charming pieces of verse which he composed on those occasions. Being one day in the society of a certain vizir, the conversation turned on the history of the Barmekides and their generosity; on which the vizir said to Abū 'l-Ainā, who had just made a high eulogium of that family for

their liberality and bounty: "You have praised them and their qualities too much; all this is a mere fabrication of book-makers and a fable imagined by authors." Abû 'l-Ainâ immediately replied: "And why then do book-makers not relate such fables of you, O vizir?" The vizir remained silent, and the company were struck with astonishment at Abû 'l-Ainâ's boldness.—Having one day complained of his distressed circumstances to Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Wahb (*vol. I. p. 29*), the latter replied: "Did I not write in your favour to Ibrahim Ibn al-Mudabbar (*4*)?"—"It is true," said Abû 'l-Ainâ; "but you wrote to a man prevented from satisfying his generous inclinations by the protraction of poverty, the humiliation of captivity, and the cruelty of fortune; so my efforts were frustrated and my hopes disappointed."—"But," said the vizir, "it was you yourself who made choice of him."—"O vizir!" replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "I am not to be blamed for that; *Moses chose* (out of) *his people seventy men* (5) and there was not a prudent man among them; the blessed Prophet chose for secretary Abd Allah Ibn Saad Ibn Abi Sarh, and he fell into apostasy and joined the infidels; and Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib, chose for arbiter Abû Mûsa 'l-Ashari, and he decided against him."—By the words *humiliation of captivity*, Abû 'l-Ainâ alluded to the circumstance of Ibrahim Ibn al-Mudabbir's having been imprisoned at Basra by Ali Ibn Muhammad, chief of the Zenj (*v. II. p. 11*). Ibrahim effected his escape by breaking through the prison wall.—Abû 'l-Ainâ having one day gone to visit Abû 's-Sakr Ismail Ibn Bulbul (*v. II. p. 612*), that vizir said to him: "What has kept you away from us so long, Abû 'l-Ainâ?"—"My ass was stolen from me."—"How was it stolen?"—"I was not with the thief, so I cannot say."—"Why then not ride to visit us on another?"—"My poverty prevented me from buying; my pride, from hiring; and my independence, from borrowing."—He one day had a dispute with a descendant of Ali, and his adversary said to him: "You attack me, and yet you say in your prayers: Almighty God! bless Muhammad and the family of Muhammad."—"Yes," replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "but I add: who are virtuous and pure."—A common fellow having stood in his way, he perceived it and said: "What is that?"—"A man of the sons of Adam," was the reply. "Welcome, welcome!" exclaimed Abû 'l-Ainâ, "God grant you long life! I thought that all his sons were dead."—Having gone one day to the door of Sâid Ibn Makhlad and asked permission to enter, he was told that the vizir was

engaged in prayer. "Ah!" exclaimed Abû 'l-Ainâ, "there is a pleasure in novelty." It must be here observed that Sâid had been a Christian before his appointment to the vizirat (6).—Happening to pass by the door of Abd Allah Ibn Mansûr, who was then recovering from an attack of sickness, he asked the servant how he was. "Just as you could wish," was the answer. "Why then," replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "do I not hear the funeral cry?"—A mendicant whom he invited to partake of his supper having eaten it all up, he said to him: "I asked you through charity, and it will be a charity in you to leave me."—One of his friends met him at an early hour of the morning and expressed his astonishment at his being up so soon: "You do as I do," replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "and yet you wonder at me." Having been informed that al-Mutawakkil had said of him: "Were he not blind, I should take him for a boon companion;" he said: "Provided the khalif dispense me from watching for the new moon"—(*which is the duty of a muwazzin*)—and from reading the inscriptions on seals"—(*which is the duty of a kâtib*)—"I should make a good boon companion."—Being asked how long he would continue to praise some and satirize others, he replied: "As long as the virtuous do good and the wicked do evil; but God forbid that I should be as the scorpion which stingeth equally the Prophet and the infidel." Ibn al-Mukarram (7), with whom he frequently engaged in playful dispute, having heard a man observe that he who loses his sight loses his shrewdness, he said: "What makes you forget Abû 'l-Ainâ; he has lost his sight and gained immensely in shrewdness." The same Ibn al-Mokarram heard him say one day, in his prayers: "O Lord, hearken to thy petitioner!" on which he exclaimed: "You son of a prostitute! whom have you not petitioned?" The same person once asked Abû 'l-Ainâ maliciously, how many liars there were at Basra, and obtained for answer: "As many as there are reprobates at Baghdad (8)."—Having gone to see Ibn Thawâba (9), who had got the better of Abû 's-Sakr (40) in a dispute, he said to him: "I have learned what passed between you and Abû 's-Sakr, and if he did not make you a full reply, it was because he could find no pride in you to humble, and no honour to blast; and moreover he detested your flesh too much to devour it, and despised your blood too much to think it worth spilling."—"And what business have you," exclaimed Ibn Thawâba, "to thrust yourself into my affairs and those of people in his station? beggar that you are!"—"Blame not

“a man of fourscore,” replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, “a man who has lost his sight and who is ill-treated by his prince, if he has recourse to the charity of his brethren; that is a better occupation than the trade of a catamite (11).”—“When two persons rail at each other,” said Ibn Thawâba, “it is the vilest who gains the day.”—“Right!” retorted Abû 'l-Ainâ, “and you gained the day over Abû 's-Sakr, and silenced him yesterday.”—Happening, in the year 246 (A. D. 860-7), to enter into the presence of al-Mutawakkil, who was then in his palace called al-Jaafari, that khalif said to him: “What thinkest thou of this our dwelling-house?” to which he made this reply: “Others have built houses in the world, but you have built a world in your house.” Al-Mutawakkil expressed his satisfaction at the answer, and then asked him how he stood wine. The other replied: “I am overcome by a small quantity, and disgrace myself if I take much.”—“Come!” said the khalif, “do not say so, but be our boon-companion.”—“I am a sightless man,” replied Abû 'l-Ainâ; “all who sit in your company are ready to serve you, and I require a person to serve me; neither am I free from the apprehension that you may look at me with the eye of one who is well pleased whilst your heart is wroth against me, or that your eye may express wrath whilst your heart is well-pleased; and if I cannot distinguish these two signs, it may cost me my life. So shall I prefer safety to risk.”—“I am told,” said the khalif, “that thou hast an evil tongue.”—“Commander of the faithful!” replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, “the Almighty himself has uttered praise and satire; he has said: *How excellent a servant! for he frequently turned himself unto God* (12), and: *a defamer, going about with slander, a preventer of good, a transgressor, a wicked wretch* (13). And a poet hath said:

“If I praise not the honest man and revile not the sordid, the despicable, and base,  
 why should I have the power of saying, *That is good, and this is bad*? And why should  
 God have opened my ears and my mouth?”

—“Whence dost thou come?” said the khalif. —“From Basra.”—“What hast thou to say of that place?”—“Its water is bitter; its heat is a torment, and it is pleasant when hell is pleasant (14).” When Najâh Ibn Salama was delivered over to Mûsa Ibn Abd Allah al-Îspahâni, who had been commissioned to exact from him the sums which he owed (to government), the cruel tortures to

which the prisoner was submitted caused his death (15). This happened on Monday, the 22nd of Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 245 (Feb. A. D. 860). The same evening, al-Mutazz billah, the son of al-Mutawakkil, attained the age of puberty, and some persons of high rank were assembled at Abû 'l-Ainâ's. One of them having asked him if he had any news of Najâh Ibn Salama, he answered (*in the words of the Koran*, sûrat 28, verse 14): "Moses (*Mûsa*) struck him and killed "him." Those words came to the ears of Mûsa, who, soon after, met Abû 'l-Ainâ in the street and threatened him, on which the latter said (*in the words of the same chapter*, verse 18): "Dost thou intend to kill me, as thou killedst a "man yesterday?"—A certain great man having made him a promise which he did not fulfil, Abû 'l-Ainâ wrote to him in these terms: "The confidence I have "in your word prevents me from complaining of your slowness; and the know- "ledge I have of your constant occupations induces me to awaken your recol- "lection. Yet, confident as I am in your kindness though slow, and con- "vinced of your generous spirit, I dread lest death overtake me, and death is "the destroyer of hope. May God increase your days and make you attain the "term of your wishes. Adieu."—The anecdotes told of Abû 'l-Ainâ are very numerous; the following one is stated to have been related by himself: "I was "one day sitting with Abû 'l-Jahm when a man came in and said to him: " 'You made me a promise, and it depends on your kindness to fulfil it.'— "Abû 'l-Jahm answered that he did not recollect any thing of it, and the other "replied: 'If you do not recollect it, 'tis because the persons like me to whom " 'you make promises are numerous; and if I remember it, 'tis because the " 'persons like you to whom I may confidently address a request are few.'— " 'Well said! blessings on your father!' exclaimed Abû 'l-Jahm, and the pro- "mise was immediately fulfilled."—Abû 'l-Ainâ was born A. H. 191 (A. D. 806-7) at al-Ahwâz, as we have already said; he passed his early youth at Basra; on attaining his fortieth year, he lost his sight, and, having resided for a time at Baghdad, he returned to Basra, and died there in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 283 (July-August, A. D. 896; some say, 282. His son Jaafar says that his death took place on the 10th of the first Jumâda, and his birth in A. H. 190; God best knows which of these statements is the more correct. —He received the surname of *Abû 'l-Ainâ* (*father large-eye*) from the circumstance of his having asked Abû Zaid al-Ansâri (*vol. I. p. 570*) how he formed



the diminutive of *ʿaīn* (eye), to which he received this answer: "*Oyain*, O Abū 'l-Ainā!" which nickname stuck to him ever after.—We have already spoken of *al-Yamāma* (vol. II. p. 10) and *al-Ahwāz*.

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) The life of al-Ōthī will be found in this volume.

(3) Abou Ali ad-Darīr (*the blind*), called also (perhaps by antiphrasis) *Abū Ali al-Baṣīr* (البصير) (*the clear-sighted*), was an eminent poet and epistolary writer; the author of the *Fihrest* informs us under the heads of *Abū Ali al-Baṣīr* and *Abū 'l-Ainā*, that the former corresponded with and satirized the latter.—(*Fihrest*, fol. 169, 171.)

(4) Ibrahīm Ibn al-Mudabbar and his brothers, Ahmad and Muhammad, were eminent poets and prose-writers وجميعهم شاعر مترسل بليغ.—(*Fihrest*, fol. 169.)—The word مترسل seems to indicate that they were employed in the Board of Correspondence.

(5) Koran, sūrat 7, verse 134.

(6) Sāid Ibn Makhhlad was one of al-Motamid's vizirs. Ibn al-Athīr informs us in his *Kāmil*, under the year 296, that Sāid Ibn Makhhlad went that year to Wāsit, where al-Muwaffik received him with the highest marks of honour. On this occasion, Sāid conducted himself with much haughtiness, and, soon after, al-Muwaffik imprisoned him and his family.

(7) According to the author of the *Fihrest*, fol. 170, Muhammad Ibn Mukarram was an eloquent *kātib* and epistolary writer. In the Khatīb's great *History of Baghdad*, we find mention made of an Abū Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Mukarram as-Saffār who died, as it would appear, in the year 231 (A. D. 834-6).

(8) Baghdad was the native place of Ibn al-Mukarram, as Basra was that of Abū 'l-Ainā.

(9) The author of the *Fihrest* indicates two persons bearing the surname of Ibn Thawāba, one called Abū 'l-Hasan Ibn Thawāba, a man of learning and talent; and the other, Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Thawāba, an accomplished epistolary writer and secretary of the khalif al-Motamid.—(*Fihrest*, f. 176 v.)

(10) He means the vizir; see vol. II. p. 612.

(11) Instead of this word, Abū 'l-Ainā uses a periphrase still grosser; but as some of the terms he employs are not perfectly intelligible, it may be here observed that أنزال signifies *emissio seminis*; استنزال *procreatio ad emissionem*; ماء الصلب, *semen*. The word أوزار here signifies: *burthen of crime*.

(12) Koran, sūrat 38, verse 29.

(13) Koran, sūrat 68, verses 11 and 12.

(14) See something similar to this in vol. I. p. 239.

(15) Najāh Ibn Salama was president of the board of requests (*diwān al-tauktā*), an office in which were drawn up the answers to the memorials presented to the sovereign. He was charged also with the control of the agents who administered the estates belonging to the government. Having discovered some extensive peculations committed by Mūsa Ibn Abd al-Malik, chief of the revenue-office (*al-kharāj*) and al-Hasan Ibn Makhhlad, president of the board of estates, he sent in a memorial to the khalif al-Mutawakkil, representing to him that these two officers had retained in their possession forty millions of dirhems. The khalif replied that, the next day, Mūsa and al-Hasan should be delivered over to him that he might proceed against them. But that night, the vizir Obaid Allah Ibn Yahya, who favoured those two officers, induced Najāh to withdraw his accusation and promised that he would arrange the affair. The next morning, Najāh's retraction

was presented to the khalif with a declaration signed by Mûsa and al-Hasan, wherein they stated that they had already paid into the hands of Najâh upwards of two millions of dinars, for which he had not accounted to the state. Al-Mutawakkil immediately delivered over Najâh and his sons to Mûsa, who obliged them to confess that they had in their possession about forty millions of dinars, without counting their magazines of corn, their horses, and landed property. Mûsa took all this wealth from his prisoners, and after inflicting a severe flogging on Najâh, he put him to death by the compressing of his testicles. The sons of the victim were then beaten till they acknowledged having in their possession seventy thousand dinars and other property. Mûsa took all from them, and extorted also large sums from the agents employed by Najâh in the different cities of the empire.—(Ibn al-Athîr's *Kdmil*, year 245.)

### MUHAMMAD IBN OMAR AL-WAKIDI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Wâkid al-Wâkidi, a native of Medina (*al-Madani*) and a *marwâ* to the Hâshim family—or to that of Sahn Ibn Aslam, according to some—was a man eminent for learning, and the author of some well-known works on the conquests of the Moslims and other subjects. His *Kitâb ar-Ridda* (*history of the apostasy*), a work of no inferior merit, contains an account of the apostacy of the Arabs on the death of the Prophet, and of the wars between the Companions and Tulaiha Ibn Khuwailid al-Azdi, al-Aswad al-Ansi and Musailama al-Kazzâb (*the liar*) (1). He received traditional information from Ibn Abi Dib (*vol. II. p. 589*), Mamar Ibn Râshid (*vol. I. p. xxiv*), Malik Ibn Anas (*vol. II. p. 545*), ath-Thauri (*vol. I. p. 576*), and others; his secretary Muhammad Ibn Saad (whose life comes immediately after this), and a number of other distinguished men delivered traditional information on his authority. He held the post of *kâdî* in the eastern quarter of Baghdad, and was appointed by al-Mâmûn to fill the same office at Askar al-Mahdi. The Traditions received from him are considered of feeble authority, and doubts have been expressed on the subject of his veracity. Al-Mâmûn testified a high respect for him and treated him with marked honour. Al-Wâkidi once wrote to him, complaining that straitened circumstances had obliged him to contract debts, and specified the amount of what he owed. On this memorial al-Mâmûn inscribed the following answer: “You possess the qualities of liberality and modesty:

"liberality allows your hand to disperse freely what you possess, and modesty  
 "induces you to mention only a part of your debts. We have therefore ordered  
 "you the double of what you ask; if this be not sufficient, the fault is your own;  
 "and if it answer your expectations, be yet more liberal than before, for the  
 "treasures of God are open, and his hand is stretched forth to do good. When  
 "you acted as *kaddi* to ar-Rashid, you told me that the blessed Prophet said to  
 "az-Zubâir (2): 'O Zubair! the keys of the provision which God grants to his  
 "creatures are placed before his throne; He bestoweth on them in proportion  
 "to their expenditure; if they spend much, He gives much, and if they spend  
 "little, He gives little.'"—"I had completely forgotten this Tradition," observed  
 al-Wâkidi, "and I derived more pleasure from his reminding me of it  
 "than from the present he made me." Bishr al-Hâfi (*vol. I. p. 257*) related  
 one single fact relative to al-Wâkidi, which was that he heard him say: "How  
 "to write a charm to cure fevers. Take some olive leaves, and, on a Saturday,  
 "being yourself in a state of purity, write on one of these leaves: *Hell is hungry*,  
 "on another, *Hell is thirsty*, and on the third, *Hell is refreshed*. Put them in a  
 "rag and bind them on the left arm of the person suffering from fever. I made  
 "the experiment myself," said al-Wâkidi, "and found it successful." Such  
 is the relation given by Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. page 96*) in his *Life*  
 of Bishr al-Hâfi.—Al-Masûdi mentions, in his *Murâdj ad-Dahab*, that al-Wâkidi  
 related the following anecdote: "I had two friends, one of whom belonged  
 "to the family of Hâshim, and we were all as if animated by one soul.  
 "Misfortune then came upon me, and I was reduced by poverty to deep dis-  
 "tress, when my wife said to me, as the great Festival was drawing near:  
 "'As for ourselves, we can support in patience our misery and affliction; but  
 "'there are our children, and it cuts me to the heart to think that they will  
 "'see the neighbours' children dressed out and adorned for the Festival, whilst  
 "'they must continue as they now are, in their worn-out clothes. Could you  
 "'contrive to procure the means of clothing them?' I immediately wrote to  
 "my friend, the Hâshimide, requesting him to let me have whatever sum he  
 "could dispose of, and he sent me a purse sealed up, and containing, he said,  
 "one thousand dirhems. I had hardly recovered from the joy I experienced  
 "when I received a note from my other friend, wherein he made me a request  
 "similar to that which I had addressed to the Hâshimide; I immediately sent

"him the purse without even breaking the seal, and, being then ashamed of  
 "appearing before my wife, I went to the mosque and remained there till morn-  
 "ing. When I returned home, instead of being reproached for what I had  
 "done, I had the satisfaction of receiving her full approbation, and just at that  
 "moment, the Hashimide came in, with the purse sealed up as before. 'Tell  
 "me sincerely,' said he, 'how you disposed of what I sent you.' I told him  
 "the plain fact. 'Well,' said he, 'when you applied to me, I sent you all I  
 "possessed on earth, and having then written to my friend requesting him to  
 "share with me what he had, I received from him my own purse, sealed with  
 "my signet.' - "We then decided on making an equal partition of the thou-  
 "sand dirhems, having first taken out one hundred for my wife (3). Al-Māmūn  
 "having heard of the circumstance, sent for me and made me relate what had  
 "passed; he then ordered us a present of seven thousand dinars, two thousand  
 "dinars for each of us, and one thousand for my wife." The Khatib relates this  
 anecdote, with some slight difference, in his history of Baghdad. Al-Wākidi  
 was born in the beginning of A. H. 130 (Sept. A. D. 747; he died on Monday  
 evening, the 14th of Zū 'l-Hijja, A. H. 207 (April, A. D. 823), being then *kādi*  
 of the quarter of Baghdad situated on the western side of the Tigris. Such is  
 the statement of Ibn Kutaiba, but as-Samāni says that he was *kādi* of the eastern  
 quarter of Baghdad, as we have already mentioned. The funeral service was  
 said over him by Muḥammad Ibn Samāa at-Tamimi, and he was interred in the  
 Khaizurān cemetery. Some place his death in 209 or 206, but the date we  
 have given is the true one. The Khatib says, in his History of Baghdad, towards  
 the beginning of his notice on al-Wākidi, that he died in the month of Zū 'l-  
 Kaada, but towards the end of the article, he places his death in Zū 'l-Hijja.  
 I found among my rough notes, and in my own hand-writing, that al-Wākidi  
 died at the age of seventy-eight years. *Wākidi* means *descended from Wākid*;  
 one of his ancestors bore this name.—Of *al-Madani* we have already spoken  
 (vol. III. page 5).—*Askar al-Mahdi* (*al-Mahdi's camp*), a place now known by the  
 name of *ar-Rusdja*, is situated in the eastern quarter of Baghdad. It was built  
 by Abū Jaafar al-Mansūr for his son al-Mahdi, after whom it was called. This  
 confirms the statement that al-Wākidi was *kādi* of the eastern quarter of the  
 city, not of the western.

(1) See Abū 'l-Feda, reign of Abū Bakr; Price in his *Retrospect*, vol. I.; Kosegarten's *Annals of al-Tahari*, part I.

(2) Abū Abd Allah az-Zubair Ibn al-Auwām Ibn Khuwailid Ibn Asad Ibn Abd al-Ozza Ibn Kusat, a member of the tribe of Koraish and of the family of Asad, was a cousin of Muhammad by the mother's side, and one of the ten proselytes to whom the founder of Islamism announced their certain entry into paradise. Persecuted, like the other Moslems, by the Pagan Arabs, he took refuge in Abyssinia, but returned in time to accompany Muhammad in his emigration to Medina. He fought in all Muhammad's battles, and, at the combat of Badr, he was the only warrior among the true believers who took the field on horseback. At the conquest of Mekka, he bore Muhammad's standard, and upwards of thirty wounds received in various combats against the infidels attested his bravery and his attachment to that faith in the cause of which his was the first sword ever drawn. Jealous of Ali, he espoused the quarrel of A'ishah, and fell by the hand of Amr Ibn Jar-mūz the 10th of the latter Jumāda, A.H. 36 (December, A. D. 656), soon after the battle of the Camel. He met with his death in a valley near Basra, called *Wādī 's-Sabā'a* (the valley of the lions.) — Abū 'l-Feda. *Tabakāt al-Muhaddithin* Star as-Salaf.)

(3) One thousand pieces could not be equally divided between three persons; the difficulty was obviated by reducing the sum to nine hundred.

## MUHAMMAD IBN SAAD.

Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Saad Ibn Manī az-Zuhri, was a man of the highest talents, merit, and eminence. He lived for some time with al-Wākidi (see the preceding article) in the character of a secretary, and for this reason he became known by the appellation of *Kātib al-Wākidi*. Amongst the masters under whom he studied was Sofyān Ibn Oyaina (vol. I. p. 578); traditional information was delivered on his own authority by Abū Bakr Ibn Abi 'd-Dunyā (vol. I. p. 531) and Abū Muhammad al-Īrārīth Ibn Abi Osāma at-Tamimi. He composed an excellent work, in fifteen volumes, on the different classes *tabakāt* of Muhammad's Companions and of the *Tābi's*; it contains also a history of the khalifs, brought down to his own time. He left also a smaller *Tabakāt*. His character as a veracious and trustworthy historian is universally admitted. It is said that the complete collection of al-Wākidi's works remained in the possession of four persons, the first of whom was his secretary, Muhammad Ibn Saad. This distinguished writer displayed great acquirements in the sciences, the Tra-

ditions, and traditional literature; most of his books treat of the Traditions and law. The Khatib Abû Bakr (*vol. I. p. 75*), author of the History of Baghdad, speaks of him in these terms: "We consider Muhammad Ibn Saad as a man of unimpeached integrity, and the Traditions which he delivered are a proof of his veracity, for in the greater part of the information handed down by him, we find him discussing it, passage by passage." He was a *maula* to al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib. At the age of sixty-two, he died at Baghdad, on Sunday the 4th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 203 (December, A. D. 818), and was interred in the cemetery outside the Damascus Gate (*Bâb as-Shâm*).

#### ABU BISHR AD-DULABI.

Abû Bishr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hanumâd Ibn Saad al-Ansâri ad-Dûlâbi ar-Râzi, was a native of Dûlâb in the province of Rai, and allied, by adoption, to the Ansârs of Medina. The surname of al-Warrâk was borne by him *because he copied or sold books*. Ad-Dûlâbi displayed great learning in the Traditions, historical narrations, and general history; he learned the Traditions in Syria and Irâk from Muhammad Ibn Bashshâr (4), Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr al-Ôtâridi, and a great number of other teachers. His own authority was cited for Traditions by at-Tabarâni (*vol. I. p. 592*) and Abû Hâtîm Ibn Haiyân al-Busti. He left some useful works on history and on the dates of the births and deaths of the learned; these productions are so correct that persons who cultivate such branches of knowledge place full reliance on the information they derive from them, and his statements may be found quoted in works of the highest repute. In a word, he was one of the first masters on these subjects, and an authority to whom constant reference is made. His productions are drawn up with great care. He died at al-Araj, A. H. 320 (A. D. 932). It is related that he gave the following lines as the production of Orwa Ibn Hizâm al-Ozri (*vol. I. p. 671*):

When my heart designed to abandon her, it found its project opposed by two strenuous intercessors (*her eyes*) It said No; they said Yes; but all were soon unanimous, for they prevailed.

— *Dûlâbi*, or *Daulâbi*, which last is considered by as-Samâni as the more exact pronunciation, means *belonging to ad-Dûlâb*, a village in the province of Rai. Another place of the same name lies in the province of al-Ahwâz, and near it was fought the celebrated battle against the Azârika (*vol. II. p. 514*). Another Dûlâb is situated to the east of Baghdad, and a fourth place of this name is *Dûlâb al-Jâr*. *Dûlâb*, pronounced also *Daulâb*, is the name of the thing which turns round (*the wheel for raising water*).—*Al-Arj* is a steep mountain-pass on the pilgrim-road from Mekka to Medina. Near Tâif is a populous village called *al-Arj*, the native place of al-Arji the poet (*vol. I. p. 267*), whose real names were: Abd Allah Ibn Omar Ibn Amr Ibn Othmân Ibn Affân. — I do not know in which of these two places ad-Dûlâbi died. There is also a place in Yemen called *Sâk al-Arj*.

(1) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Bashshâr Ibn Othmân Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Kaisân al Abdi, called also Bandâr, was a traditionist and a native of Basra. Al-Bukhârî cited his authority for some Traditions. He died A. H. 252 (A. D. 866).—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn*.)

#### ABU ABD ALLAH AL-MARZUBANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Hurân Ibn Mûsa Ibn Said Ibn Obaid Allah al-Kâtib al-Marzubâni was born at Baghdad, but his family belonged to Khorrâsân. Besides drawing up numerous works and curious compilations (1), which are well known, he delivered orally a great deal of literary and historical information. As a transmitter of the Traditions relative to Muhammad, he bore the character of a sure authority, but in his religious belief he leant towards the Shiite doctrines. He gave his Traditions on the authority of Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Baghawi (*vol. I. page 323*), Abû Bakr Ibn Abi Dâwûd as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. p. 590*), and other masters. It was he who first collected and revised

the poetical works of the Omaiyide (*khalif*), Yâzid the son of Moawia, the son of Abû Sofyân; they form a small volume of about sixty pages (2). After him, other persons undertook the same task, but they inserted in the collection a great number of pieces which were not Yazid's. The poems of this prince, though not numerous, are highly beautiful; one of his sweetest passages is that contained in the piece rhyming in *ân*, where he says:

Separated from Laila, I longed for a glimpse of her figure, thinking that the flame which raged within my bosom would be calmed at her aspect; but the females of the tribe said: "You hope to see the charms of Laila! die of the (*lingering*) malady of hope! "How couldst thou look on Laila, whilst the eyes which you cast on other women are "not yet purified by tears? How canst thou hope to enjoy her discourse, since thy "ears have hearkened to the voice of strangers? O Laila! thou art too noble to be "seen! he only can see thee whose heart is humble and submissive (3)."

I conceived so great an admiration for Yazid's poetry, that, in the year 633 (A. D. 1235-6, being then at Damascus, I learned it all by heart, and succeeded in distinguishing the genuine pieces from those which were falsely attributed to him. I examined also the latter with attention, and was enabled by my researches, to discover by whom each of them was composed; these results I should set forth here were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much. — Al-Marzubâni was born in the month of the latter Jumâda, A.H. 297 (Feb.-March, A. D. 910) — some say 296—and he died on Friday, the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 384 (November, A. D. 994). His death has been placed incorrectly in the year 378. The funeral service was said over him by the doctor Abû Bakr al-Khawârezmî. He was interred in his house, situated in the *shârî* of Amr the Greek (*Amr ar-Rûmî*), a street in that quarter of Baghdad which lies on the east side of the river. He delivered traditional information on the authority of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Baghdâdî (4), Abû Bakr Ibn Duraid (*vol. III. p. 38*), and Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbârî (*vol. III. p. 55*); his own authority was cited by Abû Abd Allah as-Saimari, Abû 'l-Kâsim at-Tanûkhi (*vol. II. p. 567*), Abû Muhammad al-Jauhari, and others. — He received the surname of *al-Marzubânî* because one of his ancestors bore the name of *al-Marzubân*, a designation applied by the Persians to great and powerful men only. This word signifies *guardian of the frontier*, as we learn from Ibn al-Jawâlîkî's (5) work, entitled *al-Muarrab*.



(1) Ibn Khalīkan mentions, in the life of the poet Abū Bakr al-Khawārezmi, that al-Marzubāni was the author of a *Mojam as-Shu'ar*, or dictionary of notices on the poets.

(2) The original has: Of about three *kurrāsas*. A *kurrāsa*, or *quira*, generally contains twenty pages.

(3) These verses seem to have a mystic import; the Beloved signifying the Divinity.

(4) This I believe to be the same person as the Abd Allah al-Baghawi already mentioned in this article.

(5) His life will be found in this work.

### ABU BAKR AS-SULI.

The *kātib* Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbās Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sūl Tikin, generally known by the appellation of as-Sūli as-Shetranji (*as-Sūli the chess-player*), bore a high reputation as a man of talent and an accomplished scholar. He delivered traditional information on the authority of Abū Dāwūd as-Sijistāni (*v. I. p. 589*), Abū 'l-Abbās Thālab (*v. I. p. 83*), Abū 'l-Abbās al-Mubarrad (*vol. III. p. 34*), and other great masters; Abū 'l-Abbās ad-Dārakuṭnī (*vol. II. p. 239*), Abū Abd Allah al-Marzubāni (see the preceding article), and others have transmitted down the information which he imparted. He became one of (*the khalif*) ar-Rādi's boon-companions, after having been his preceptor; the khalif al-Muktafi and his successor al-Muktadir received him also into their intimacy on account of his convivial talents. He composed a number of celebrated works, such as the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā* (*book of vizirs*), the *Kitāb al-Waraka* (*book of leaves*), the *Adab al-Kātib* (*the knowledge requisite for a kātib*), the *Kitāb al-Anwāi* (*Liber specierum*), the History of Abū Tammām (*vol. I. p. 348*), the History of the Karmats, the *Kitāb al-Ghurar* (*book of brilliancies*), the History of Abū Amr Ibn al-Alā (*vol. II. p. 399*), the *Kitāb al-Iḥāda* (*book of devotion*), the History of Ibn Harma (4), the History of as-Saiyid al-Ilmiyari (*vol. II. p. 244*), the History of Ishak Ibn Ibrahim (*vol. I. p. 183*), a biographical dictionary of modern poets, etc. The science which he chiefly cultivated was biography, but he knew by heart and transmitted down a great number of literary productions. Sincere in his religious belief and virtuous in his conduct, he merited the deference which was always paid to his opinions. In chess-playing he remained without an equal, and, even to the present day, it is said

proverbially of a player whose abilities are intended to be extolled, that *such a one plays at chess like as-Sûli*. I have met a great number of persons who believed that as-Sûli was the inventor of chess, but this is an erroneous opinion; that game having been imagined by Sissa Ibn Dâhir the Indian, for the amusement of king Shihrâm. Ardashir Ibn Bâbek, the founder of the last Persian dynasty, invented the game of *nerd* (*tables*) (2), which was therefore called *nerdashîr* (3). He designed it as an image of the world and its inhabitants, and therefore divided the board into twelve squares to represent the months in the year; the thirty counters (*or men*) represented the days of the month, and the dice, fate, and the vicissitudes through which it conducts the people of the world. But, to expatiate on these points would lead us too far, and make us digress from the subject in which we are now engaged. The Persians count the game of *nerd* as one of the inventions which did honour to their nation. [Balhait was at that time king of India, and for him Sissa invented the game of chess. The sages of that epoch declared it superior to the game of *nerd*, and that for reasons too long to be explained] (4). It is said that, when Sissa invented the game of chess and presented it to Shihrâm, the latter was struck with admiration and filled with joy; he ordered chess-boards to be placed in the temples, and considered that game as the best thing that could be learned, in as much as it served *as an introduction* to (*the art of*) war, as an honour to religion and the world, and as the foundation of all justice. He manifested also his gratitude and joy for the favour which heaven had granted him in illustrating his reign by such an invention, and he said to Sissa. "Ask me for whatever you desire."—"I then demand," replied Sissa, "that a grain of wheat be placed in the first square of the chess-board, two in the second, and that the number of grains be progressively doubled till the last square is attained: whatever this quantity may be, I ask you to bestow it on me." The king, who meant to make him a present of something considerable, exclaimed that such a recompense would be too little, and reproached Sissa for asking so inadequate a reward. Sissa declared that he desired nothing but what he had mentioned, and, heedless of the king's remonstrances, he persisted in his demand. The king at length consented, and ordered that quantity of wheat to be given him. When the clerks of the government office received orders to that effect, they calculated the amount, and answered that they did not possess near so much wheat as was required.

These words were reported to the king, and he, being unable to credit them, ordered the clerks to be brought before him. Having questioned them on the subject, they replied that all the wheat in the world would be insufficient to make up that quantity. He ordered them to prove what they said, and, by a series of multiplications and calculations, they demonstrated to him that such was the fact. On this, the king said to Sissa: "Your ingenuity in imagining such a request is yet more admirable than your talent in inventing the game of chess."—The way in which this doubling of the grains is to be done consists in the calculator's placing one grain in the first square, two in the second, four in the third, eight in the fourth, and so on, till he comes to the last square; placing in each square the double of what is contained in the preceding one. It appeared to me doubtful that the amount could be so great as is said, but having met one of the accountants employed at Alexandria, I received from him a demonstration which convinced me that their declaration was true: he placed before me a sheet of paper in which he had doubled the numbers up to the sixteenth square, and obtained thirty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight grains (5). "Now," said he, "let us consider this quantity to be the contents of a pint measure, and this I know by experiment to be true;"—these are the accountant's words, so let him bear the responsibility—"then let the pint be doubled in the seventeenth square, and so on progressively. In the twentieth square it will become a *waiba* (peck), the *waibas* will then become an *irdabb* (bushel), and in the fortieth square we shall have one hundred and seventy-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-two *irdabbs*. Let us suppose this to be the contents of a corn-store, and no corn-store contains more than that; then, in the fiftieth square we shall have the contents of one thousand and twenty-four stores; suppose these to be situated in one city—and no city can have more than that number of stores—we shall then find that the sixty-fourth and last square gives sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-four cities (6). Now, you know that there is not in the world a greater number of cities than that, for geometry informs us that the circumference of the earth is eight thousand parasangs (7); so that, if the end of a cord were laid on any part of the earth, and the cord passed round it till both ends met, we should find the length of the cord to be twenty-four thousand miles, which is equal to eight thousand parasangs. The truth of this is positive and indubitable."—Were I not ap-

prehensive of extending this article to too great a length and being led away from my subject, I should render this evident, but, in my notice on the sons of Mûsa, I shall touch again on the subject (8). You know also that the inhabited portion of the earth forms about one quarter of its surface.—These observations have caused us to digress, but as they convey some useful information and a curious piece of calculation, I decided on inserting them so that they might come under the notice of such persons as treat with incredulity the result obtained by doubling the squares of the chess-board, and oblige them to acknowledge its exactitude; for the demonstration here given clearly proves the truth of what has been said on the subject. — Let us return to as-Sûli. Al-Masûdi relates, in his *Murâj ad-Dahab*, that the *imâm* ar-Râdi billah went to a delightful garden filled with flowers, at one of his country-seats, and asked the boon-companions who accompanied him if they ever saw a finer sight. They all began to extol it and describe its beauties, declaring that it surpassed every garden in the world; on which ar-Râdi said: “As-Sûli’s manner of playing chess is yet a finer sight and surpasses all you could describe.” It is related that when al-Muktafi (*billah*) first heard of as-Sûli’s extraordinary talent in that game, he had already taken into his favour a chess player named al-Mâwardi, whose manner of playing had excited his admiration. When as-Sûli and al-Mâwardi were brought together and set to play in the presence of al-Muktafi, that khalif, yielded to his partiality for the latter, and, led away by the friendly feelings which a long acquaintance had established between them, he prompted him and encouraged him so openly that as-Sûli felt at first embarrassed and confused. However, as the game went on, he recovered his self-possession and vanquished his adversary so completely that no one could gainsay it. Al-Muktafi being then convinced of his talent, lost all his partiality for al-Mâwardi and said to him; “Your *mâ-ward* (*rose-water*) is turned into urine.”—Innumerable anecdotes are told of as-Sûli and his adventures; yet, with all his talent, his acknowledged learning, humour, and elegant taste, he met with a depreciator in Abû Said al-Akili, who attacked him, but not severely, in a satire: as-Sûli had a library filled with works compiled by himself and all in differently-coloured bindings; these he used to call the fruits of his studies (9), and, when he had occasion to refer to any of them, he would tell his boy to bring him such and such a book. This led Abû Said to compose the following lines:

Of all men, as-Sûli possesses the most learning—in his library. If we ask him for an explanation on a point of science, he answers: “Boys! bring here such and such a ‘packet of science’ (10).”

As-Sûli died at Basra, A. H. 335 (A. D. 946-7), or 336; he had sought concealment there to avoid the active search which people of all ranks were making after him with the intention of putting him to death. The crime imputed to him was his publishing a certain Tradition relative to (*the rights of*) Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib. Some time previously, he had been obliged, by straitened circumstances, to leave Baghdad.—We have already spoken of the word *Sâli* in the life of Ibrahim Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli, the uncle of Abû Bakr's father (*vol. I. p. 22*).—*Sissa* is to be pronounced with an *i* followed by a double *s*.—*Dâhir* is pronounced with an *i* in the second syllable. — *Ardashîr* is thus spelled by ad-Dârakutni; another author says that it is a Persian word signifying *flour and milk*; *ard* means *flour*, and *shîr*, *milk*. Some say that *Ardashîr* means *flour and sweetness* (11), and others state that it should be written *Azdashîr*. It was this prince who overthrew the provincial kings (*Mulâk at-Tawâif*) and formed, out of their empires, a kingdom for himself. He was the ancestor of that Persian dynasty which ended in Yazdajird (*Yezdegird*) and was overthrown in the thirty-second year of the Hijra, in the khalifate of Othmân Ibn Affân. Their history is well known. This dynasty must not be confounded with the first series of the Persian kings which terminated in Dârâ, the son of Dârâ, him who was slain by Alexander. This conqueror established provincial kings throughout the country, and he gave them this name because each of them had a different people under his rule; previously to this, these states belonged to a single man. *Ardashîr* was one of the provincial kings, but he succeeded in subduing the others and establishing the empire in its primitive unity. The country remained under the provincial kings during four hundred years. The last Persian dynasty subsisted for the same period.—I am unable to fix with certainty the orthography of *Balhait*, the name of the king of India, but I found it thus written by the copyist of the book which I consulted. It may or it may not be exact.

(1) “In A. H. 476 (A. D. 972-3) died Abû Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Ali Ibn Muslima Ibn Aâmir Ibn Harma (حرمة) al-Fihri, a celebrated poet of whom al-Asmâi said: ‘Ibn Harma was the last of the poets.’ No testimony can be stronger than this in favour of his talents.”—(*Nujûm*.)

(2) Hyde has fully treated of these games in his treatise *De Ludis Orientalium*.

(3) Ibn Khallikān, or his author, seems therefore to have considered the word *nerdashir* as the equivalent of *nerd Ardashir* (*Ardashir's nerd*).

(4) If the passage here placed between crotchets be not an interpolation, the author has been led into a contradiction by his forgetting to compare the additional notes which he inserted in the margin of his work with what he had already written. It may be here mentioned that nothing positive is known of Sissa, Shih-rām, and Balhait.

(5) This is perfectly exact.

(6) These sums are exact.

(7) The reasoning which follows is so inconclusive, that we must suppose our author to have misunderstood what was said.

(8) See the life of Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Ibn Shâkir.

(9) Literally : *his hearing*; that is, what he learned at his masters' lectures.

(10) The grammatical construction of this last verse is incorrect: for *فَلَانَهُ* we should read *الْفَلَانَهُ*.

(11) These derivations, which have been already given (vol. I. p. 353), are too futile to merit attention.

## AL-HATIMI.

Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Muzaffâr, surnamed al-Hâtimi, a native of Baghdad, a *kâtib* and a philologist, was one of the most eminent among those illustrious men who had attained celebrity by their extensive information and numerous productions. He studied the belles-lettres under Abû Omar az-Zâhid (vol. III. p. 44), and dictated historical information on his authority at literary assemblies. He gave also some pieces on the authority of other masters. The *kâdi* Abû 'l-Kâsim at-Tanûkhi (vol. II. p. 567) and a number of other highly-talented men transmitted down information received from him. Al-Hâtimi composed an epistle called *ar-Risâla tal-Hâtimiya*, in which he relates his interview with al-Mutanabbi (vol. I. p. 102), and the manner in which he exposed, on that occasion, the plagiarisms and defects which occur in that poet's compositions. This treatise is a proof of the extensive acquirements and vast information possessed by its author. In commencing, he explains the motive which led him to (*write it*), and he then says : " When Ahmad Ibn al-Husain al-Mutanabbi arrived at Madînat-Salâm (*Baghdad*), on his return from Egypt, " with the project of fixing his abode at the court of the vizir Abû Muhammad " al-Muhallabi (vol. I. p. 440), he folded himself up in the cloak of pride and

"swept along with the train of ostentation, whilst his haughty mien and lofty  
 "gait displayed his arrogance and vain presumption(1); from every person whom  
 "he met he turned away in disdain, and spoke of none but with insidious  
 "calumnies. Deluded by self-admiration, he imagined that all literary talent  
 "pertained to him alone; he thought that poetry was an ocean to whose pure  
 "waters none but himself had a right to approach, and a garden whose blooming  
 "flowers he alone was entitled to gather; he therefore plucked its nosegays  
 "and gathered its fruits to the exclusion of all who attempted to enter. But  
 "the pleasure of the presumptuous man lasts only whilst he remains in his  
 "solitude(2), and every reputation requires a foundation to support it. For a  
 "length of time, he continued to run in this path, and I allowed his insolence  
 "to roam even to the full extent of its tether; he strode about in his vanity,  
 "thinking that he was the unrivalled courser of the hippodrome, the steed  
 "which never yet had found another to run with it neck and neck, the sole  
 "master of the language, the only deflowerer of virgin phrases, the sovereign  
 "lord of eloquence in prose and verse, the unequalled hero of the age in talent  
 "and in learning! His heavy tread bore down many of those who distinguished  
 "themselves by the insignia of the belles-lettres, whilst he forced out from the  
 "soil of literature springs of the sweetest water. Some hung down their heads  
 "before him, others drooped the wing, testifying by their looks humble sub-  
 "mission. But Moizz ad-Dawlat Ahmad Ibn Buwaih"—I have already traced  
 his history (*vol. I. p. 155*)—"saw with displeasure that his capital, the abode  
 "of the khalifate, the seat of glory, the pearl of the empire, should be visited  
 "by a man who had just left the court of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân"—I have  
 also spoken of this prince (*vol. II. p. 334*)—"the open enemy of Moizz ad-  
 "Dawlat, and that he should not find in his kingdom a person able to compete  
 "with the new comer in his art. For that monarch had a lofty soul, an im-  
 "perial resolution, and a will which, if directed towards the conduct held by  
 "fortune, would have prevented her vicissitudes from sporting with the just  
 "and her changes from revolving over them. As for the vizir al-Muhallabi,  
 "he was led by mere supposition to imagine that none could cope with al-Muta-  
 "nabbi, that he himself could not equal him nor attain to the height of any of  
 "his thoughts, much less lift the burden of talent which the poet bore so  
 "lightly. Great men have various ways of exalting, extolling, and honouring

“ those whom they think fit ; but their sentiments sometimes alter, and then  
 “ they promptly abandon their former line of conduct. This was the case with  
 “ the vizir al-Muhallabi in the change which his opinion underwent respecting  
 “ the man whom he patronised ; for, in reality, Abū ’t-Taiyib had no other merit  
 “ to distinguish him from the vulgar herd of literary men (not to speak of the  
 “ noble leaders of the flock), but a talent for poetry. Herein, I avow, his vari-  
 “ ous productions were brilliant, and the flowers he culled were full of sweet-  
 “ ness. I therefore undertook to seek out his faults, cut off his nails, publish  
 “ his secrets, disclose to view what he kept folded up, and put to the test the  
 “ negligences of his compositions, till such time as the palace of some distin-  
 “ guished man should unite us, so that I and he might race in the same hippo-  
 “ drome and make known who was the vanquisher, who the vanquished, who  
 “ reached the goal, and who was distanced. I then possessed a talent copious  
 “ as the rain-cloud, a mind which, in all accomplishments, flashed forth a spar-  
 “ kling radiance, and a genius like the pure wine which is crowned with bub-  
 “ bles and betrays the secret of the liquor contained in the goblet. Besides  
 “ this, the lake of my youth was translucent and its raiment ample, the stuff of  
 “ my life was glossy, its zephyrs mild, and its clouds dropping genial rain. But  
 “ my youth, ardent though it was, had to await the harbinger of a fitting time ;  
 “ for horses run not on the day of trial by means of their nerves and strength,  
 “ but by the impulse of their riders. However, each man obtains in his day a  
 “ moment wherein he may fully accomplish his wishes, and, though great his  
 “ expectations, the path to their fulfilment opens wide. At length, a succes-  
 “ sion of days withdrew from before the time of our meeting, and I set out for  
 “ his dwelling-place, having underneath me a quick-paced, hawk-eyed mule, its  
 “ head towering as if borne on the wings of an eagle. It was really a magnifi-  
 “ cent conveyance, and I seemed like a blazing star mounted on a cloud con-  
 “ ducted by the south wind ; whilst before me a number of handsome pages,  
 “ some free-born, some slaves, ran in succession, as pearls run off the string.  
 “ I mention this, not through ostentation and boasting, but because Abū ’t-Taiyib  
 “ himself saw it all ; its beauty did not, however, excite his admiration, neither  
 “ did its splendour attract his attention ; that brilliant troop, which, as I suspect,  
 “ filled his eyes and heart (*with wonder*), served only to increase his self-love and  
 “ make him turn his face away from me. He had opened a shop (*school*) ; that



“ place and uttered his literary wares to some youths who had never received  
 “ a learned education, nor whetted their talents in debate (3), nor trained their  
 “ minds by study; unable to distinguish between the beauties of language and  
 “ its faults, its facilities and its difficulties; their utmost talent consisting in  
 “ being able to read the poems of Abû Tammâm, to discourse on some of his  
 “ ideas, and to cite some of the readings which the editors of his works had  
 “ written down as authorised. I found there a company of young men, learning  
 “ from al-Mutanabbi passages of his poetry; but, when my arrival was an-  
 “ nounced and permission asked for me to enter, he sprung up from his  
 “ seat and hastened to hide from my sight. I had however anticipated his de-  
 “ parture by dismounting from my mule, and he saw me full well, for I had  
 “ ridden up to a spot where his eyes could not fail to light upon me. On en-  
 “ tering the assembly, I was received with profound respect by all, and seated in  
 “ al-Mutanabbi's own place. I then perceived that his seat was covered with  
 “ an old cloak which, through the injuries of time, had become a tattered rem-  
 “ nant, a collection of loose threads. I had scarcely time to sit down, when  
 “ he entered; I rose and saluted him politely, not withholding a salutation  
 “ which he did not really deserve: for he had left his place to avoid rising up on  
 “ my entrance. When I saw him, I applied to myself the words of the poet:

“ It was a disgrace for me to visit thee, but my desire to see thee prevented my  
 “ retreat.

“ And he (*might well have*) applied to his own case these words of another  
 “ poet:

“ Some men render others as wretched as themselves; and God permits that some  
 “ make others happy. Man obtains not his subsistence by superior cunning; wealth  
 “ and subsistence are portions (*distributed by fate*). 'Tis thus the skilful archer some-  
 “ times misses the deer, and one who is no archer strikes it.

“ I observed that he had put on seven vests, each of a different colour; and  
 “ yet we were in the burning heat of summer, and the day was warm enough to  
 “ melt the contents of the skull. I sat down, ready to rise up if necessary;  
 “ he sat down in a kneeling posture and averted his head, as if he saw me  
 “ not. I then turned from him negligently, reproaching myself with my folly  
 “ in going to see him, and the trouble I had taken in setting out to meet him.

" He remained for some time, his face averted and not deigning to lend me a  
 " glance of his eye, whilst every one of the band assembled before him was  
 " making signs to him and pointing towards me, endeavouring to arouse him  
 " from his torpor and rudeness. Their efforts served only to augment his in-  
 " difference, insolence, and pride; but he at length thought proper to turn  
 " towards me and show me a certain degree of politeness; and I declare upon  
 " my honour, and that is the best of oaths, that the only words he said  
 " were: 'How are you?' (4) I replied: 'Well; were it not for the wrong I  
 " did myself in coming to see you, the degradation which my dignity has  
 " incurred in making you this visit, and the determination which led me  
 " reluctantly to one like you who has never profited by the lessons of expe-  
 " rience and prudence.' I then fell upon him as the torrent falls on the depths  
 " of the valley: 'Tell me,' said I, 'whence come your pride and presumption,  
 " your self-conceit and haughtiness? What motive have you to aspire to a  
 " height which you can never attain? Have you ancestry to ennoble you; ho-  
 " nour to exalt you; a sultan to patronise you, or learning to distinguish you?  
 " Had you weighed your merits in a just balance, vanity would never have se-  
 " duced you, and you would have remained what you always were, a mere  
 " poet, rhyming for a livelihood.' At this invective, his colour changed, his  
 " respiration became embarrassed, and he commenced making humble excuses,  
 " and asked for indulgence, swearing repeatedly that he had not recognised me,  
 " and that it was not his intention to insult me. I replied: 'Nay, sir! if your  
 " visitor be a man nobly born, you appear ignorant of his descent; if an accom-  
 " plished scholar, you seem not to perceive his learning; and if a favourite of  
 " the sultan, you refuse him the place of honour! Are you then the heir of  
 " all glory? No, by Allah! but you have taken pride as a veil to hide your  
 " inferiority, and have made it an antechamber, that you may avoid being  
 " questioned!' He again uttered excuses, but I only made answer: 'All  
 " your entreaties are of no avail.' The assembly then began to request me to  
 " spare him and accept his excuses, and to show that moderation which offended  
 " dignity employs in its own defence; but I still continued to reprimand him  
 " and reproach him with his despicable character, whilst he persisted in  
 " swearing that he had not recognised me in time to do me fitting honour.  
 " To this I replied: 'Did I not send in to you my name and surname when

" " I applied for permission to enter? If you recognised me not, there were  
 " " persons in this assembly who did; and even were the case as you say, did  
 " " you not remark my aspect? did you not scent the odour of my superiority?  
 " " did you not feel that I was a man apart?" Whilst I was thus filling his  
 " ears with invectives, he continued to exclaim: 'Be calm! moderate your  
 " " passion! restrain your impetuosity! have patience! patience is the charac-  
 " " teristic of persons so respectable as you.' I at length resumed my affability  
 " and softened towards him, regretting to have passed the bounds in reprimanding him; but I had already broken him in as you would tame a young  
 " and restive camel. He then began to extol my merits and praise me, swearing that, since his arrival in Irāk, he had ardently longed to see me, and was  
 " always promising to himself the satisfaction of meeting me and gaining my  
 " friendship. He had just ended his declarations, when a young student from  
 " Kûfa, a descendant of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, requested permission to enter: he  
 " ordered him to be introduced, and in came a boy of an active form, moving  
 " with all the grace and vivacity of youth, who explained the object of his visit  
 " with a gentle voice, a sweet tongue, a gay humour, a ready answer, a smiling  
 " mouth, the gravity and dignity of old age. I was struck at the aspect of  
 " such endowments and captivated by the talents he displayed. Al-Mutanabbi  
 " then made him repeat some verses." Here the author commences the relation  
 of his discourse with al-Mutanabbi relative to the plagiarisms and faults in  
 that poet's compositions. The preceding extract is very long, but the passages  
 were so closely connected that it was impossible to make suppressions. The  
 epistle itself contains a mass of information (5), and if, as the author states,  
 he pointed out to the poet, in one sitting, all the faults he there mentions,  
 such a feat must be considered as a proof of prodigious information. He entitled  
 this work *al-Mâdiha* (the *exposer*); it is of a considerable size, filling, as it  
 does, thirteen quires (*two hundred and sixty pages*), and it serves as a testimony  
 of the eminent talent possessed by the author, of his presence of mind, and of  
 the readiness with which he adduced his numerous proofs. The *Hilya tal-Muhâ-  
 dara* (*ornaments of conversation*), another work of his, forms two volumes and  
 contains a great quantity of literary matter. He died on Wednesday, the 26th  
 of the latter Rabi, A. H. 388 (April, A. D. 998).—He received the surname of  
*al-Hâtimi* because one of his ancestors bore the name of *Hâtim* (6).

- (1) The arrogance and extravagant vanity of al-Hâtimi are fully displayed in the long declamation which follows.
- (2) The writer means to say that, if the man who presumes on his talents mingles with the world, he will quickly find a rival or a superior.
- (3) Literally: He had established a market with some youths, whom learned men had not educated and who had not been triturated by the mill-stone of adversaries.
- (4) In Arabic *âish khâbarak*. It is remarkable that the vulgar form *aish*, for *aiyu shaiyin*, was in use at that early period: Al-Hâtimi seems to have been struck with the singularity of such an expression coming from the mouth of al-Mutanabbi.
- (5) An extract from this epistle is given in the notice on al-Mutanabbi and his writings, which has been cited in vol. I. page 110, of this work.
- (6) The author here introduces, by inadvertence, the same anecdote which he has already given in the life of Abû Omar az-Zâhid. See page 47 of this volume.

## IBN AL-KUTIYA.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Abd al-Aziz Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Isa Ibn Muzâhim, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Kûtiya (*son of the Gothic woman*), was born in Cordova and resided in that city, but his family belonged to Seville. In the latter place he received lessons from Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Kûk (1), Hasan Ibn Abd Allah az-Zubaidi (2), Said Ibn Jâbir (3), and other masters; in Cordova he studied under Tâhir Ibn Abd al-Aziz (4), Ibn Abi 'l-Walid al-Aaraj, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Mughîth, and others. He was not only one of the ablest philologists and grammarians of the age, but possessed extensive information in the Traditions, jurisprudence, and history; he also knew by heart a fund of curious anecdotes, and, by the quantity of poetical pieces which he transmitted down and of historical facts which he discovered, he outstripped every competitor. In the history of Spain he displayed the highest acquirements, and he passed much of his time in dictating from memory the biography of the emirs, jurisconsults, and poets who flourished in that country. The works which treat on philology formed the principal subject of his lectures, and their contents were taken down under his dictation; but, in transmitting Traditions and maxims of jurisprudence, he was by no means correct, not having the original works to refer to. It therefore resulted that the texts which he delivered were appreciated for their meaning only, not for their

literal accuracy, and it frequently happened that, under his tuition, students read over works the contents of which, as far as implies correctness, he could not repeat from memory. He lived to an advanced age and gave lessons to successive generations; *shaikhs* and old men cited passages which they had learned from him, and, as he himself had met and conversed with all the eminent masters of that epoch who lived in Spain, he transmitted down a great quantity of instructive observations which they had communicated to him. Amongst the useful works composed by him on the Arabic language may be noticed the *Kitâb Tasdrif il-ʾIḥâl* (on the conjugation of verbs); this was the first treatise ever composed on the subject, that of Ibn al-Kattâa (vol. II. p. 265) having been drawn up in imitation of it. His treatise on the words which terminate in a long or in a short *alif*, contains an immense quantity of information, and surpasses all the imitations of later writers as much as it surpassed all the former productions on the same subject (5). When Abû Ali 'l-Kâli (vol. I. p. 210) went to Spain, he frequented the society of Ibn al-Kûtiya and always spoke of his talents in the highest terms: being asked by the reigning sovereign of Spain, al-Hakam, the son of an-Nâsir li-din illah Abd ar-Rahmân, who was the ablest philologist whom he had met in that country? he replied: "Muhammad Ibn al-Kûtiya." The eminent abilities of Ibn al-Kûtiya were accompanied by a spirit of profound piety and an assiduous attachment to the practices of devotion; he displayed also considerable talent as a poet, but he afterwards renounced that occupation, although his poetical compositions were remarkable for correctness of style, perspicuity of thought, the beauty of the exordiums and grace of the transitions. The accomplished scholar and poet Abû Bakr Yahya Ibn Hudail at-Tamimi (6) relates that as he was going, one day, to a country-house which he had at the foot of the Cordova mountain, in one of the most delightful spots on earth, he met Ibn al-Kûtiya returning from a country-seat which he possessed in the same neighbourhood. "On seeing me," said Ibn Hudail, "he reined his horse over to me and expressed great pleasure at our meeting. I then, in a sportive mood, recited extempore this verse:

" Whence comest thou, incomparable man? thou who art the sun and whose sphere  
" is the world!

" On hearing these words, he smiled and answered with great promptitude:

"I come from an abode where the devotee can enjoy solitude, and where sinners may transgress in secret.

"I was so highly delighted with his reply, that I could not forbear kissing his hand and praising him, and invoking God's blessing on him; he was more-over my old master, and therefore deserved these marks of respect."—Abû Bakr Ibn al-Kûtiya died at Cordova on Tuesday, the 23rd of the first Rabi, A. H. 367 (November, A. D. 977); he was interred the following day in the Koraish cemetery, at the hour of the evening prayer. Some persons place his death in the month of Rajab of the year just mentioned, but the former date is more correct.—*Kûtiya* (the Gothic woman) is derived from *Kût* (Goth); this *Kût* was the son of Ham, the son of Noah, and from him the *Sûdân* (the negroes), the Indians, and the natives of Sind draw their origin. Al-Kûtiya was the mother of Ibrahim, the son of Isa Ibn Muzâhim, this Abû Bakr's ancestor, and the daughter of Obba (*Eba*), the son of Guitisha (*Witiza*). Her father was king of Spain, and from him it was and from his brothers, Artabâs, (*Ardebast*), count of Spain (7), and Sida (*Sisebut*) (8), that Târik Ibn Nasir (9), at the head of the Moslîms, took the cities of Spain. Al-Kûtiya went to (the *khalîf*) Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik to complain of the injustice with which she had been treated by her uncle Artabâs, and, when in Syria, she married Isa Ibn Muzâhim, a *marwa* of the Omaiyyide (*khalîf*) Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz. Her husband, Ibn Muzâhim, accompanied her back to Spain, and his descendants continued to inhabit that country. She returned with a letter of recommendation addressed by Hishâm to (Abû) 'l-Khattâr (10) as-Shôbi al-Kalbi, the chief to whom he had entrusted the government of Spain. (Abû) 'l-Khattâr put a stop to the persecutions which she suffered from her uncle, rendered full justice to all her claims against him, and treated her with marked respect. She lived to an advanced age and saw the vicissitudes of fortune establish the Omaiyyide prince, the emir Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Moawia Ibn Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, surnamed ad-Dâkhil (the enterer, the new comer), on the throne of Spain. She sometimes went to see him, and he granted whatever requests she had to make (11). Her posterity have continued to bear the name of the *Sons of the Gothic woman*, even to the present day. Such is the statement made by Abû Bakr al-Kubhashi in his enlarged and embellished extract from the juriconsult Abû Omar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Afîf at-Târikhi's (12) work, entitled, *Kutâb al-Itisâf fi Aaldm ir-Rijâl* (the careful remembrancer of eminent men), which is a com-

pilation of notices on the juriconsults and learned men of Cordova who flourished in later times. Abû Bakr al-Kubbashi, whose full names were Abû Bakr al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mufarrij Ibn Abd Allah Mufarrij, a member of the tribe of al-Maâfir and a native of Cordova, transmitted down at-Târikhi's work from memory (13). Abû Muhammad Ibn ar-Rushâti (*vol. II. p. 69*) says, in his *Ansâb*, that *Ain Kubbash*, a spring of water in the western suburb of Cordova, gave the title of *al-Kubbashi* to Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Mufarrij al-Maâfiri al-Kubbashi, who died on the eve of Friday, the 5th of Ramadân, A. H. 371 (March, A. D. 982). I may here observe that this person was the father of the Abû Bakr al-Hasan just mentioned.

(1) Al-Makkari, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 704, fol. 203, notices an Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Hakk al-Khaulâni, surnamed Ibn al-Kök, who died A. H. 318 (A. D. 930). This may perhaps be the person whom Ibn Khallikân meant. According to al-Makkari, Ibn al-Kök was a native of Seville: he studied at Cordova and proceeded to Mekka in A. H. 266 (A. D. 879-80). He took lessons in that city and became an eminent juriconsult of the Hanifite sect (*fakh fî 'l-rûi*). He drew up bonds with great ability and bore the reputation of a pious Muslim and a trust-worthy traditionist.

(2) Al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Madhij az-Zubaidi died towards A. H. 320 (A. D. 932).—(*Bughya*.)

(3) Said Ibn Jâbir Ibn Mûsa al-Kilâi, a native of Seville, died A. H. 326 (A. D. 937-8).—(*Bughya*.)

(4) Abû 'l-Hasan Tâhir Ibn Abd al-Aziz ar-Roaini, a native of Cordova, a traditionist, and a philologist of eminent abilities, died A. H. 304 (A. D. 916-7).—(*Bughya*.)

(5) The MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 706, contains two curious works on the conquest of Spain by the Muslims and the history of that country under the Arabian governors and first Merwanide emirs. One of these works bears Ibn al-Kûtiya's name as the author; the other is anonymous.

(6) Abû Bakr Yahya Ibn Hudail, an accomplished scholar and a poet of great reputation, died A. H. 383 (A. D. 993), or 386, aged eighty-six years.—(*Bughya*.)

(7) Mariana says that Ardebast, count of Spain, was a Greek refugee.

(8) *Sisebutus*, in Mariana; شِشْبُوت (*Shishberb*), or, as I should prefer reading, شِشْبُوت (*Shishbout*), in the anonymous MS. mentioned in note (3).

(9) Ibn Khallikân probably meant to write *Târik*, the mawla of Mûsa Ibn Nastr.

(10) In place of *al-Khattâr* (الخطار) the MSS. read *al-Khattâb* (الخطاب). This error seems to have originated with Ibn Khallikân or his copyist. Abû 'l-Khattâr al Kalbi was the nineteenth governor of Spain.

(11) See *al-Makkari*, in Gayangos's translation, vol. II. p. 30.

(12) Abû Omar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Afif, a native of Cordova, was distinguished for his learning, profound piety, and skill in drawing up bonds and contracts. He is the author of a work in five volumes destined as a guide to students (*fî adâb al-mutallimîn*), and a history of juriconsults, occasionally cited by Ibn Bashkuwâl. Having removed from Cordova to Almeria, he was appointed *kâdi* of Lorca, and died there. A. H. 420 (A. D. 1029), in the month of the second Rabi.—(Ibn Bashkuwâl's *Silâf*.)—The author of the *Bughya* mentions an Ahmad Ibn Muhammad at-Târikhi, probably the same person as the above, and informs us that he composed a number of works on the history of Maghrib, and wrote a large volume in which he described the roads, harbours, and cities of Spain, the six *junds*, or military divisions of that empire, etc.

(13) Abû Bakr al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mufarrij al-Maâfiri al-Kubbashi, a native of Cordova and a learned traditionist, the author of the *Ihtifal*, or history of the khalifs, juriconsults, and *kadis* mentioned here by Ibn Khallikân, died somewhat later than A. H. 430 (A. D. 1039).—(Ibn Bashkuwâl's *Silat*.)

## ABU BAKR AZ-ZUBAIDI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Madhij Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bishr az-Zubaidi, a native of Seville and a resident of Cordova, was the ablest grammarian and the most learned philologist of the age. He surpassed all his Spanish contemporaries by his knowledge of syntax, rhetoric, and curious anecdotes; besides which, he was well versed in biography and history. The works which he left us are a proof of his extensive learning, and, amongst them, we may notice his abridgment of the *Ain* (*vol. I. p. 496*), and his classified list (*tabakât*) of grammarians and philologists who flourished either in the East or in Spain, from the time of Abû 'l-Aswad ad-Duwalî (*vol. I. page 662*) to that of his own master, Abû Abd Allah ar-Riâhi the grammarian. He composed also a refutation of the doctrines held by Ibn Masarra (1) and his followers; this work he entitled: *Hath Sutâr al-Mulhidîn* (*the impious unmasked*). His other works are: a treatise on the incorrect phraseology of the vulgar; the *Wâdih* (*plain treatise*), a highly instructive work on grammar; and a treatise on the grammatical forms, which has never been surpassed. (*The Omayyide prince*) al-Hakam al-Mustansir billah, lord of Spain, confided his son and publicly declared successor, Hishâm al-Muwaiyad billah, to the tuition of az-Zubaidi; and the young prince not only learned arithmetic and grammar under this preceptor, but acquired a great stock of other information. To the favour of his pupil, az-Zubaidi was indebted for his large fortune, his appointment to the place of *kaddî* at Seville, and his nomination to the command of the police-guards (*shurta*). The ample wealth which he accumulated was long enjoyed by his descendants. He used to extol in terms of the highest praise the abilities and intelligence of his young pupil, al-Muwaiyad, declaring that, amongst all the boys of the imperial family and the sons of the grandees, he never conversed with one more acute,



more quick of comprehension, more sagacious, or more prudent. He related of him also a number of extraordinary anecdotes. Az-Zubaidi composed a great quantity of poetry, and, in one of his pieces, directed against Abû Muslim Ibn Fihir (2), he says :

Abû Muslim ! a man must be judged from his intelligence and discourse, not from his equipage and dress. A man's clothing is not worth a straw, if he possesses a narrow mind. It is not long sittings in the professor's chair, my good Abû Muslim ! which can procure learning, wisdom, and intelligence.

When employed in the service of al-Hakam al-Mustansir, he ardently longed to see a slave-girl whom he had left at Seville, and, being unable to obtain the permission of going to visit his beloved concubine, he wrote to her these lines :

Alas, my dear Salma ! take it not to heart ! separation must be endured with fortitude. \* Think not that I bear your absence with patience, unless it be with the patience of the dying man. God hath not created a torture more excruciating than the moment of adieu. Death and separation appear to me the same, except that the former is accompanied by the wailing of the funeral mourners. Promptly severed as we were, though once closely united, reflect that every meeting leads to a departure, that the boughs divide into branches, that proximity tends to remoteness, and union to separation.

He frequently recited the following lines :

To be poor in one's native country is like living in a foreign land ; a foreign land with wealth is home ; the earth is all the same ; mankind are brothers and neighbours.

When Abû Ali al-Kâli (vol. I. p. 240) arrived in Spain, az-Zubaidi took notes at his literary and philological lectures ; he studied also under Kâsim Ibn Asbagh (3), Said Ibn Fahlûn (4), and Ahmad Ibn Said Ibn Hazm (5). His family belonged to the military division of Syria called the *Jund* of Emessa. He died at Seville on Thursday, the 1st of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 379 (September, A. D. 989). He was interred the same day, after the celebration of the afternoon prayer, and the funeral service was said over him by his son Ahmad. He lived to the age of sixty-three years.—*Madhij*, in its primitive acceptation, served to designate a red sand-hill in Yemen. Mâlik, the son of Odod, was born on it and received the name of Madhij for that reason. This word then got into such use among the Arabs as a proper name for men, that they ended by considering it

as such and forgetting that it applied to this hill.—*Zubaidi* means *descended from Zubaid*; this was the surname of Munabbih, the son of Saab, the son of Saad al-Ashira (*vol. I. page 106*), the son of Madhij, him who was called by the name of the hill. Zubaid is a large tribe established in Yemen, and has produced a great number of remarkable persons, some of them companions of Muhammad.

(1) I find in the *Bughya* two persons of this name, the first: Ahmad Ibn Masarra, a jurisconsult of Tortosa, who died A. H. 322 (A. D. 934); and the second: Wahn Ibn Masarra, a traditionist who had studied under Muhammad Ibn Waddāh. Nothing is said of their religious opinions in that work.

(2) In the *Bughya*, this name is written *Fahd*.

(3) Abū Muhammad Kāsim Ibn Asbagh Ibn Muhammad al-Baiyāni, an eminent *hadīth*, traditionist, and genealogist, composed a great number of works, the titles of which, with the names of the persons under whom he studied, are given in the *Bughya* on the authority of Abū Muhammad Ibn Hazm. He bore a high reputation for learning and for his exactitude as a traditionist, and his *Asadib*, or patronymics, is a most copious and an excellent work. His family belonged to Baena (البينة), but he himself resided in Cordova and died at an advanced age in that city, A. H. 340 (A. D. 951-2).—(*Bughia tal-Multamis*.)

(4) Abū Othmān Saīd Ibn Fahlūn (or Fahl) Ibn Saīd, learned Traditions at Cordova in A. H. 274 (A. D. 887-8) from Muhammad Ibn Waddāh; he studied also under other masters, and was giving lessons himself in A. H. 341 (A. D. 952-3).—(*Bughya*.)

(5) Abū Omar Ahmad Ibn Saīd Ibn Hazm as-Sadafi al-Muntaḥillī (المنتحيلي), the author of a voluminous biographical work, died A. H. 330 (A. D. 941-2).—(*Bughya*.)

## ABU ABD ALLAH AL-KAZZAZ.

The grammarian Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Jaafar at-Tamimi (*member of the tribe of Tamīm*), surnamed al-Kazzāz, was a native of Kairawān. He applied himself with ardour to the study of grammar and philology, and composed a number of works on various subjects. One of his productions, the *Kitāb al-Jamī* (*collector*), treats of philology and is a work of great extent and high repute. Abū 'l-Kāsim as-Sirafī (*v. II. p. 276*), the Egyptian *kdīb*, says that Abū Abd Allah al-Kazzāz was employed in the service of al-Azīz Ibn al-Moizz al-Obaidi, the sovereign of Egypt, and that he composed some works at the desire of his master. According to another statement, al-Aziz Ibn al-Moizz ordered him to compose and draw

up in alphabetical order a work containing all the words of that third class which is indicated in the well-known grammatical definition : *The parts of speech are: the noun, the verb, and the particle* (1). And Ibn al-Jazzâr (2) observes that he does not know of any grammarian's having composed a work on a similar plan. In pursuance to the prince's commands, al-Kazzâz collected all the scattered information contained in the most esteemed treatises on this subject, and arranged it in a clear, simple, and easy order. He thus formed a volume of two thousand pages. The preceding indications are taken from the emir al-Mukhtar al-Musabbihî's (vol. III. p. 89) greater History. In a work called *Kitâb at-Târid* (*book of allusions*), he inserted the parables and allusions employed in common discourse. Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Rashik (vol. I. p. 384) says in his *Anmûdaj* :  
 " Al-Kazzâz brought the ancient writers to shame and reduced the modern authors to silence ; respected by the princes, the men of learning and the men of rank, he was beloved by the people. He rarely engaged in conversation unless to speak of the religious or the profane sciences ; he had a great command of language (3) and composed equally well in the natural and the artificial styles of poetry. He sometimes pronounced his verses to enliven conversation without seeming to care about them ; and he attained with great ease, and in a gentle quiet way, the highest point to which persons having a talent for poetry can aspire ; namely, novelty of thought and force of expression. Versed in all the forms of rhetoric, he was equally well skilled in the art of poetry. As specimens of the pieces to which we allude, we may here insert the following :

" I swear by the place which thy beloved image holds in my heart, by the lasting sway of love over my bosom, that if my wish were granted to dispose of thy person at my will, I should treasure thee up in the pupil of my eye and shelter thee under the curtains of my eyelids ! Then I should enjoy thy utmost wishes, and fear no longer for thy character the danger of unjust suspicions ; suspicions which daily force my soul to taste the goblet of death. When the hearts of other men are at peace, mine fears for thee the secret glances of the evil eye ; and why should I not fear for thee who art my world : nay, God's vengeance alone prevents me saying : Who art my divinity !

" Love me in secret and let thy thoughts alone inform me of my happiness. Sure of thy affection, I care not for the lot which may await me.

" Who will console the travellers whom fortune has separated, and who now proceed, some to the far East and some to the distant West (4). Fate seemed to have dreaded

“ meeting with its fate, had it kept them together; and it therefore dispersed them  
 “ throughout the world.

“ In Abû Rabia we find a meadow (*rabia*) where our hopes may roam unconfined:  
 “ he always remembers his promises, and he forgets the favours he bestows.

“ Since you know that you are the light of my eye, and that I see nothing if I see  
 “ not you, why have you withdrawn from my sight? Then indeed every object but thy-  
 “ self is hidden from my view.”

After giving many other pieces by the same author, Ibn Rashik adds: “Some  
 “ of the poems by Abû Abd Allah” — (meaning al-Kazzâz) — are yet finer than  
 “ those I have quoted; but I could not recal them to memory, and besides, I  
 “ made it a rule, in composing this book, to limit the number of poetical cita-  
 “ tions. He died at al-Hadra, A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021-2), aged nearly seventy  
 “ years.” — By *al-Hadra* he means Kairawân, which was at that time the capital  
 of the kingdom (5). — *Kazzâz* means a *worker*, or a *dealer*, in silk *kazz*. A  
 number of persons were known by this surname.

(1) In Arabic, the words *particle* and *letter* are called *harf*. To distinguish them, the former is called the *harf employed to modify the sense* (*jâz li mâna*.)

(2) It is barely possible that this may be the Ibn al-Jazzâr mentioned in vol. I. p. 672.

(3) Or, as the Arabic may also signify: He kept a strict command over his tongue.

(4) Literally: to *Najd* and *Tihâma* (منبج وتهم); a frequent expression with the poets.

(5) *Hadra* signifies *presence*, and therefore the *metropolis*, because the sovereign is there present. *Hadrakum* (your presence) is the equivalent of *your majesty*, *your excellence*, and *sir*.

### THE EMIR AL-MUKHTAR AL-MUSABBHI.

The emir al-Mukhtâr Iz' al-Mulk (*the chosen, the glory of the empire*) Muham-  
 mad Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim Obaid Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ismail Ibn Abd al-Aziz,  
 generally known by the appellation of al-Musabbhi the *kâtib*, drew his origin  
 from a family of Liarrân, but Egypt was the place of his birth. This highly  
 accomplished and learned scholar was the author of a celebrated history (*of*  
*Egypt*) and other works, all of them attesting (*by their popularity*) the eminent

talents with which he had been favoured. He always wore the military dress, and it was in the service of al-Hâkim al-Obaidi, the son of al-Aziz, sovereign of Egypt, that he rose to fortune. He mentions in his history, that he entered into al-Hâkim's service in the year 398 (A. D. 1007-8), and that, after holding the governments of al-Kais and al-Bahasa, in the province of as-Said, he was appointed head of the *Diwân at-Tartīb* (1). The interviews and conferences which he had with al-Hâkim are attested by his Greater History. He compiled about thirty works, and, in speaking of his History, he says: "This valuable work, the contents of which render all other treatises on the same subject unnecessary for the reader, offers him the history of Egypt, of its governors, emirs, imâms, and khalifs, the description of its wonders, its edifices, its various productions which serve for food, a notice on the Nile, a history of the persons who settled in that country, brought down to the time in which the copy of this title-page was first written, the compositions of the poets, the biography of learned men, and an account of the sittings held by the *kâdis*, the magistrates (*hâkims*), the *muaddis* (2), the literary men, the amatory poets, etc." This work fills twenty-six thousand pages (3). Another of his works, containing two thousand pages, bears the title of *at-Tahrîth wa 'l-Tasrîh* (*indirect and direct indication*), and treats of the ideas occurring in poetry, and the other species of composition. His *Kitâb ar-Râh wa 'l-Irtidâh* (*repose and activity*) fills three thousand pages; his *Kitâb al-Ghark wa 's-Shark* (*drowning and strangling*), in which he mentions the persons who met with their death in either of these manners, four hundred pages; his *Kitâb at-Taâm wa 'l-Adâm* (*book of meats and sauces*), two thousand pages; his *Daruk al-Bughia* (*the fulfilment of wishes*), treating of religions and religious practices, seven thousand pages; his *Kisas al-Anbiyâ* (*history of the prophets*), three thousand pages; his *Kitâb al-Mufâtaha wa 'l-Mundkaha* (*liber initionis et congressus*), treating *de variis congressus modis*, two thousand four hundred pages; his *Kitâb al-Amthila lid-Dual il-Mukhila* (*book of emblems for the kingdoms which are to come*), a work founded on the stars and calculations, one thousand pages; his *Kadâyâ 's-Sâbiya* (*Sabean judgments*), on judicial astrology, six thousand pages; his *Jâna tal-Mashûta* (*étui de la coiffure*), containing curious relations, pieces of poetry, and anecdotes seldom heard repeated, a miscellaneous collection, three thousand pages; his *Kitâb as-Shujan wa 's-Sâkon* (*sadness and alleviation*), containing the history of true lovers

and their sufferings, five thousand pages; and his *Kitāb as-Sawād wa 'l-Jawāb* (*book of questions and answers*), six hundred pages. He composed also the *Mukhtār al-Aghāni wa Maāniha* (*selections from the Kitāb al-Aghāni with an explanation of its verses*) (4), and other works. We possess some good poetry of his composition, and in one of his pieces, which is an elegy on the death of his concubine, he says:

O let me take the path which leads to God! my heart is broken, and affliction has exhausted my tears. Can I bear my loss with patience, now that my love sojourns in the tomb? O how great, how poignant are my sorrows! O that I had died before her, or that we had both expired together!

The celebrated scribe and book-copyist, Abū Muhammad Obaid Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Jaū, having accepted an invitation from al-Musabbihī, and gone to visit him, was addressed by his host in these extempore lines:

By lodging with me you have lodged joy in my heart, and it is ready to fly from excess of felicity. Thy science has showered (*copious as*) the clouds of heaven; were it not for thee, no rain had fallen to-day. Your presence has spread around a reviving perfume, and the darkness has been changed into light.

This Ibn Abi 'l-Jaū was a poet, an accomplished scholar, a pleasing companion and universally agreeable. He composed a great quantity of epistolary, expository, and satirical pieces. He copied books at the rate of fifty leaves (*or one hundred pages*) for a dinar (*about ten shillings*), and his writing was so extremely beautiful, that the specimens of it still in the hands of the public are in the highest request. He died A. H. 395 (A. D. 1004-5). Al-Musabbihī was born, as he himself informs us in his Greater History, on Sunday the 10th of Rajab, A. H. 366 (March, A. D. 977). He died in the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 420 (April-May, A. D. 1029). His father died on Monday morning, the 9th of Shaabān, A. H. 400 (March, A. D. 1010), at the age of ninety-three years, and the funeral prayer was said over him, in the Great Mosque of Old Cairo. He was interred in the (*court of the*) house where he resided. Al-Musabbihī lamented his death in the following lines:

To deplore this misfortune (*our*) tears are not sufficiently abundant; it repels resignation, and betrays the feelings we suppressed. A misfortune which slays our hearts within our bosoms, which casts us into restless affliction. O fate! thou hast struck thy talons into my heart and covered it with wounds. O fate! thou hast clothed me in a robe of

sadness, since a person so dear to us has been laid in the tomb. Hadst thou accepted a ransom, I should have ransomed him for whose sake my bones are broken (*with grief*) whilst his are mouldering into dust. O thou who seest me overcome by an event so unexpected, and blamest my weakness! why dost thou blame me? I have lost my father! no orphanage is more painful than the loss of parents in our youth (5). I used to grieve when death seemed to approach him, or when worldly cares took him by surprise.

A number of other poets whose names are mentioned in the Greater History, composed elegies on his death. As-Samāni says, in his *Ansāb*: "*Al-Musabbihī* (6) " means descended from an ancestor whose name was *Musabbih*. This surname " was borne by the author of the History of the Maghribiins and of Mizr." The writer means the emir of whom we have been just speaking.

(1) I am inclined to believe that the *Diwān at-Tartīb* was the same establishment as the *Diwān ar-Rawḍatib*, or military pay-office.

(2) The *muaddil* is the public officer who certifies the morality of such persons as appear before the *kādī* to give evidence. He is also called the *muzakkī* (*purifier*).

(3) The author says: 'Thirteen thousand leaves (*waraka*).

(4) See vol. II. page 249.

(5) Al-Musabbihī was not then so very young; he had passed his thirty-third year, and probably did not feel so much as he pretends. The sentiments expressed in these verses are too artificial for real grief.

(6) The surname of this historian is often incorrectly written *al-Mashhī*; المسحى for المسحى.

## IBN HAMDUN THE KATIB.

Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Muhammad Ibn Abi Saad al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Hamdūn the *kātib*, surnamed Kāfī 'l-Kufāt (*the most serviceable of assistants*) Bahā ad-dīn (*splendour of religion*), was a native of Baghdad, highly distinguished for his talents and consummate abilities as a literary man and a *kātib*. He came of a family noted for producing men of influence and merit, as not only he, but his father and his brothers, Abū Nasr and Abū 'l-Muzaffar, occupied eminent posts in the service of the state. Having pursued his studies under Abū 'l-Kāsim Ismail Ibn al-Fadl al-Jurjāni and other masters, Abū 'l-Ma'ālī com-

posed his *Tazkira* (*remembrancer*), an excellent compilation of historical notices, pieces of literature, anecdotes, and poems. Nothing like it has ever been produced by later writers, and, being a most useful work, it still retains its reputation and continues in the hands of the public. Imād ad-din al-Ispāhāni mentions him in the *Kharīda*, and says: "He was army-inspector under al-Muktafi (*li amr illah*), and intendant of the palace under al-Mustanjid; ardent for praise and eager for renown, he spread the shade of his protection over literary men; and gifted with talents and genius, he composed a work entitled the *Tazkira*, wherein he combined gaiety with seriousness, frivolity with knowledge. But the khalif al-Mustanjid having remarked in it some anecdotes, extracted, according to the author's account, from historical works, but which seemed allusions to the fallen state of the empire, he imagined that Abū 'l-Maālī's object was to vilify the government, and he therefore took him from his seat of office and cast him into prison, where he remained in suffering till he died. This occurred at the beginning of the year 562 (November, A.D. 1166). He once recited to me the following piece of his composition, containing an enigmatical description of the linen fan (4):

"Fast and loose, it cannot touch what it tries to reach; though tied up, it moves swiftly, and though a prisoner, it is free. Fixed in its place, it drives before it the gentle breeze; though its path be closed up, it moves on in its nocturnal journey. It received from Solomon an inheritance (2). It remains dry when the star Simāk (*Spica Virginis*) exerts its (*cooling*) influence (*over the weather*), but it sheds its moisture when the ardours of Orion return. Its salutation consists in one of the (*four*) elements, and for that reason every soul is its friend (3)."

Imād ad-din gives also the following passages as his:

"May your glory never require augmentation! May thy gifts never require pressing to be granted! But yet I desire increase of fortune, though reason bids me to remain contented.

"Little of head and of wit! heavy in breath and in body! you pretend to smell sweet like me; sweet you smell, but it is of perfumes (4).

Another writer says that he learned by heart a great quantity of Traditions. Ibn Hamdūn relates that he heard the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Mustanjid repeat the following verses, composed by Abū Hafs as-Shetranji on a girl who had a cast in her eyes:



When tormented with love, I praised God for the obliquity of vision which rendered sidelong glances unnecessary; I looked at her, and the spy who watched me thought that I looked at him (5); I thus felt secure from treachery (6).

This is certainly a novel and striking idea.—Ibn Hamdûn was born A. H. 495 (A. H. 1101-2), and he died on Tuesday, the 11th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 562 (August, A. D. 1167). He was interred the next day, in the Koraish Cemetery, at Baghdad. He died in prison.—His brother, Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, surnamed Ghârs ad-Dawlat (*plant of the empire*), an officer of the civil administration (*âdmil*), was esteemed a highly virtuous and holy man, and his society was much sought after. He was born in the month of Safar, A. H. 488 (Feb.-March, A. D. 1095), and he died at Baghdad in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 545 (March-April, A. D. 1151). He was interred in the Koraish Cemetery. Their father was a *kâtib* of high rank, a skilful administrator and a good accountant. He composed a work on the nature of the different posts in the civil service (*fi maarifa tal-Admil*), and lived to an advanced age. He died on Saturday, the 10th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 546 (August, A. D. 1151).

(1) The *linen fan* (*mirwaha tal-khaish*) is a large piece of linen stretched on a frame and suspended from the ceiling of the room. It is moistened with rose-water and set in motion by a cord. They make use of it in Irâk.—See de Sacy's *Hariri*, page ٢٧٢.

(2) This is an allusion to the 81st verse of the 21st sûrat of the Koran: "And unto Solomon (*we subjected*) "a strong wind which ran at his command." The next hemistich of Ibn Hamdûn's verse presents a double difficulty: the verb عرّبت may be read in various manners, and the allusion made by the poet is very obscure. From the opposition which exists between the ideas of *Arab* and *Nabatean*, I am inclined to read this doubtful verb as if it were pointed thus: عَرَّبْتُ; the meaning of the hemistich would then be: and its materials, *i. e.* the substance of which it is formed, have received an Arabic appearance, as the Nabateans have received one. We should then have an allusion to the proverbial expression: قَدْ اسْتَعْرَبَ النِّبْتُ (*the Nabatean may become like an Arab*), and another allusion to the fact that the name of the material employed to make the fan is *kattan* (*linen*), an Arabic modification of the Persian word *ketan*. The text, however, is too uncertain to justify any attempt at translation, and I therefore pass to the next verse.

(3) *Nafs*, here translated *soul*, is the equivalent of the Latin *anima*. The author plays upon the double meaning of the word.

(4) The word لَبَن appears, in this verse, to bear the meaning of لَبَنِي or لَبَان.

(5) It was therefore the poet who squinted, not the girl; Ibn Khallikân sometimes forgets himself.

(6) The MSS. and the printed text read الْعَذْر, but the true reading appears to be الْعَذَر.

## IBN KURAIA.

The *kādi* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abd ar-Raḥmān, a native of Baghdad and generally known by the surname of Ibn Kuraia, filled the functions of his office in as-Sindiya and other places in the province of Baghdad, by the appointment of the *kādi* Abū 's-Sāib Oṭba Ibn Obāid Allah. Ibn Kuraia was one of the wonders of the world for the promptitude with which he replied to every question submitted to his opinion; and his answers were expressed in the purest style and in the most beautiful rhythmical prose. Having been received into the intimacy of Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥallabi (*vol. I. p. 440*), he attached himself exclusively to that vizir. There exists, in the hands of the public, a well known work containing a collection of questions proposed to Ibn Kuraia and the answers which he returned. The men of rank and the literary characters of that age took great pleasure in jesting with him and consulting him, by writing, on odd and laughable questions; to these he immediately replied by written answers in the same style. The vizir of whom we have just spoken encouraged some persons to invent a number of ridiculous questions on a variety of burlesque subjects, in order to obtain his answers, and the *kātib* Abū 'l-Abbās Ibn al-Mualla wrote to him as follows: "What does the *kādi* (may God favour him!) say of a "Jew who committed fornication with a Christian, and she brought forth a "child with a human body and the head of an ox? They are now both under "arrest. What does the *kādi* opine respecting them?" On this paper he immediately inscribed an answer in these terms: "This evidence none can refuse "—it bears hard upon the accursed Jews—and proves that they drank down "the love of the calf into their hearts (1)—so that it now comes out from their "lower parts—I opine that on the Jew's neck the calf's head you should tie—"and on the Christian's shoulder fix the leg and the thigh—and that they should "be dragged on the ground—whilst the words: *Darkness upon darkness* (2) are "proclaimed around.—Receive my salutation."—When the Sāhib Ibn Abbād (*v. I. p. 212*) visited Baghdad, he went to the vizir al-Muḥallabi's levees (3), and was there so greatly struck by the *kādi* Ibn Kuraia's wit and delicate repartees, that, in a letter addressed by him to Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Amid (4), he said:

“ And there was at the levee a facetious *shaikh*, called the *kâdi* Ibn Kuraia, with whom I discussed some questions too indelicate to be mentioned here; and I must say that I found his conversation singularly witty.” • An elderly man who smelt strongly of perfumes having asked him, in the presence of the vizir Abû Muhammad, the definition of the term *kafa* (5), he replied: “ It is that part which is surrounded by thy skirts (*jurubbân*); which draws on thee the raileries of thy friends; the part on which thy sultan corrects thee, and in which thou familiariter utuntur ephēbi tui (6). There are four definitions of it.” The *jurubbân* of a coat is the broad piece of stuff which covers the *os coccygis* and hides the *kafa*. It is a Persian word Arabicized (7). All the questions proposed to him were of this sort, and I should mention some more of them here, did I not wish to avoid prolixity; but a good number of them, with the answers, have been inserted by the celebrated poet Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Sharaf al-Kairawâni (8), in his work entitled *Abkâr al-Afkâr*. The *kâdi* Abû Bakr Ibn Kuraia died at Baghdad on Saturday, the 19th of the latter Jumâda, A.H. 367 (Feb. A. D. 978), aged sixty-five years.—*Kuraia* was the surname of one of his ancestors, according to as-Samâni.—*Is-Sindiya* is the name of a village situated on the (canal called) Nahr Isa, between Baghdad and al-Anbâr. To indicate that a person is a native of this place, they say *Sindawânî* (not *Sindî*), lest he should be taken for a native of Sind, the country which lies on the borders of India.

(1) Koran, sûrat 2, verse 87.

(2) Koran, sûrat 24, verse 40.

(3) The word *majlis*, here rendered by *levee*, signifies in general a *sitting held to render justice, a tribunal*; but in this work it usually designates *the levees of a vizir, or of a kâdi*.

(4) The life of Ibn al-Amîd will be found in this volume.

(5) *Kafa* signifies *the back of the neck*. It is also employed to designate the lower part of the back.

(6) By these words he alluded to the *mutiebris patientia*, of which men who perfumed their person were often suspected.

(7) The Persian word is *ghiribân* (کریبان).

(8) Imâd ad-dîn, in his *Khartâ* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin, No. 363, fol. 8 v.), gives numerous extracts from the poems of Ibn Sharaf al-Kairawâni, and says that he was a contemporary of Ibn Rashik (vol. I. p. 384). Hajji Khalifa places his death in A. H. 460 (A. D. 1067-8), which agrees with Imâd ad-dîn's statement.

## IBN MUHRIZ AL-WAHRANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Muhriz Ibn Muhammad al-Wahrâni, sur-named Ruku ad-din (*column of religion*) — some say, Jamâl ad-din (*beauty of religion*) — was a man of wit and talent. He left his country and came to Egypt in the reign of the sultan Salâh ad-din, but, as the art in which he excelled was the drawing up of official papers, and as he found there al-Kâdi 'l-Fadil (*vol. II. p. 141*), the *kâtib* Imâd ad-din al-Ispahâni, and other distinguished individuals of the same class, he felt his inferiority, and perceived that his abilities, eminent as they were, could not be employed with profit to himself. He therefore abandoned the grave style of writing, and, having taken to light compositions, he wrote the collection of visions and epistles which bears his name. This work, copies of which are very common, is a proof of the facetious humour, acute mind, and accomplished wit possessed by the author. The *Great Vision* alone would suffice for his reputation; it abounds in charming ideas, but its length precludes its insertion here. He afterwards visited different countries, and, having resided for some time at Damascus, he was nominated preacher (*khatîb*) at Dâraiya (1), a village situated in the Ghûta (2) and at the gates of the city. He died at Dâraiya, A.H. 575 (A.D. 1179-80), and was interred at the entrance of the funeral chapel erected over the grave of the *shâikh* Abû Sulaimân ad-Dârâni (*vol. II. p. 88*). I found in the handwriting of al-Kâdi 'l-Fadil that, on the 17th of the month of Rajab, the news of al-Wahrâni's death came (to Egypt) from Damascus. — *Wahrâni* means *native of Wahrân (Oran)*, a large city in the land of Kairawân. It is situated on the Syrian Sea (*the Mediterranean*), at the distance of two days' journey from Tilimsen. Ar-Rushâti (*vol. II. p. 69*) says that it was founded A.H. 290 (A.D. 903), by Muhammad Ibn Abi Aun, Muhammad Ibn Abdûs and a band (*of adventurers from Spain*) (3). It has produced many distinguished characters, some of them remarkable for learning.

(1) In vol. II. p. 89, this name is incorrectly spelt *Dârîya*. Its orthography is here fixed by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) The cultivated country around Damascus is called the Ghûta.

(3) An account of their proceedings is given by Ibn Khaldûn in his History of the Berbers.

## IBN TAIMIYA AL-HARRANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim al-Khidr Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Khidr Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Taimiya al-Harrâni and surnamed Fakhr ad-din (*glory of religion*), was an eminent preacher and a jurisconsult of the Hanbalite sect, holding the first place in his native country by his learning, and highly distinguished for his piety. Having cultivated the sciences under some men of great erudition, he proceeded to Baghdad, where he studied jurisprudence under Abû 'l-Fath Ibn al-Manni (*vol. II. p. 237*), and learned Traditions from Shuhda Bint al-Ibari (*vol. I. page 625*) Ibn al-Mukrah, Ibn al-Batti (*vol. II. p. 66*), and others. He composed a very good compendium of the doctrines professed by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. page 44*), and an excellent collection of *khotbas* (*sermons*), a work of high repute. He left also a commentary on the Koran, and some good poetry. He occupied the post of preacher (*khatîbu*) at Harrân, and this office was afterwards filled by other members of his family. His life was one uniform course of rectitude and virtue. He was born at Harrân towards the end of the month of Shaabân, A.H. 542 (January, A.D. 1148), and he died in that city on the 11th of Safar, A.H. 621 (March, A.D. 1224). Abû 'l-Muzaffar Sibî Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. I. pp. 439, 674*) says: "He incurred general odium in Harrân, and, when any person of that place commenced to display abilities, he never ceased persecuting him till he drove him out of the city. He died on the 5th of Safar, A.H. 621." This date differs from ours. He then adds: "I heard him, one Friday, on the conclusion of the public prayer, recite the following verses in the great mosque of Harrân:

"My beloved friends! I have told my eyes that they and sleep shall never meet unless we meet again. Spare a heart tortured with love, and pity an enfeebled body worn away. How often have you adjourned the night of our promised meeting! life has passed away, and yet we do not meet."

Abû Yûsuf Mahâsin Ibn Salâma Ibn Khalifa al-Harrâni mentions Ibn Taimiya with commendation in his history of Harrân, and says that he died on Thursday, the 10th of Safar, A.H. 622 (February, A.D. 1225), soon after the hour

of the *asr* prayer (1). Abū 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II* p. 556) speaks of him in his History of Arbela, and states that he arrived in that city in the year 604, with the design of making the pilgrimage to Mekka. He then extols his merit and adds: "He gave lessons every day on the interpretation of the Koran; he related anecdotes with great elegance, his discourse had a peculiar charm, and this, joined to an agreeable disposition, rendered his company most acceptable to all ranks. His father was one of the *abdâls* (2) and holy ascetics. He (*the son*) acquired his knowledge of jurisprudence at Harrân and at Baghdad; in controversy he displayed singular acuteness. He composed some compendious treatises on jurisprudence, and left a collection of sermons in the style of Ibn Nubâta's (*vol. II* p. 440). As an expounder of the Koran he stood pre-eminent, and in all the sciences his abilities were highly conspicuous. He learned Traditions from the first masters at Baghdad." Ibn al-Mustaufi then cites the following piece as the production of Ibn Taimiya:

Receive my salutations and let the past be forgotten; my departure from you was sore against my will. Ask the night if sleep has ever closed my eyelids since I left you. Friends beloved of my heart! I swear by Him who decreed our separation, that if the joyful day of our meeting return and the woes which afflict me be healed, I shall go forth to meet the camels which bear you hither, and lay my face as a carpet in their path; even should I apply my forehead to the ground—even should the (*heat, ardent as*) brands of *ghada* wood (3), scorch my cheeks! Then I should receive new life—they wrapt in joy, I should exclaim: *Receive my salutations! the past is now forgotten!*

He then adds: "I asked him the meaning of his name *Taimiya*, and he replied: 'My father or my grandfather, I am not sure which, made the pilgrimage, leaving his wife in a state of pregnancy. On arriving at Taimâ, a little girl who came out of a tent attracted his attention, and, on his return to Harrân, he found that his wife had lain in of a daughter. When the child was presented to him, he exclaimed: *Yâ Taimiya! yâ Taimiya!* (*O the girl of Taimâ! the girl of Taimâ!*)—being struck with its resemblance to the little girl he saw there. The child was therefore named *Taimiya*.' Such was the purport of his words.—*Taimâ* is the name of a village in the desert of Tabûk, half-way between Khaibar and Syria. *Taimiya* means a female belonging to *Taimâ*; but the more correct expression (*in this case*) is *Taimâwiya*, because the masculine form of the relative adjective derived from *Taimâ* is *Tamdiwi*. The

statement is furnished, however, by Ibn Taimiyya himself, and has been generally adopted.

(1) See vol. I. page 394.

(2) The Moslim saints are supposed to form a corporation composed of a certain number of members and always subsisting. In this corporation the highest rank is held by the *chief*, or *Ghauth*; the next, by four *Autâd*; the third, by seven *Akhyâr*; the fourth, by forty *Abdâl*; the fifth, by seventy *Nujab*; and the sixth, by three hundred *Nukab*.—See on this subject a passage of al-Ishâkî, quoted by Lane in his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*, vol. I. p. 233.—In the dictionary of technical terms employed by the *sâfis*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin, No. 893, I find the following explanations of these terms: The *Kuth* (*axis*), is the individual to whom has been delegated Almighty God's inspection over the universe at all times.—The *Kuth*, at the moment in which recourse is had to him is the *Ghauth* (*assistance*).—The *Autâd* (*pegs*) are the four men who preside over the four regions of the world, the east, the west, the north, and the south. By them God preserves these regions, because they are charged to inspect (*over their respective quarters*).—The *Budâd* (*substitutions*; the word *abdâl* has the same meaning;) are seven men; when one of them travels forth, he leaves behind him a body in his image, so that no one can perceive his absence.—The *Nujab* (*excellent*) are forty persons occupied in rectifying the affairs of men, in bearing their burdens, and in exercising the rights of the creature (*not of the creator, like the kuth and the autâd*).—The *Nukab* (*administrators*) are those who inspect and produce to view the secret of men's bosoms. They are three hundred in number. It would appear that, in the *sâfi* confraternity, these names served to designate the grand-master and the principal chiefs.

(3) According to the Arabic philologists, the wood of the *Ghada* tree gives out great heat and retains its fire very long.

## AL-ATTABI THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû Mansûr Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Zâbirj the grammarian, surnamed al-Attâbi, possessed a good knowledge of grammar, philology, and the belles-lettres. His writing was so beautiful and correct, that specimens of it are much sought after by literary men. He studied the belles-lettres under Abû 's-Saâdât Hibat Allah Ibn as-Shajari a [redacted] whose life we shall give), Abû Mansûr Mauhûb Ibn al-Jawâtiki 1, and others. He learned Traditions from the first masters of that age, and transcribed a great number of books. Volumes in his handwriting are highly prized. His birth took place in the month of the first Rabi, A. H. 484 April-May, A. D. 1091), and his death occurred on the

eve of Tuesday, the 25th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 556 (May, A. D. 1161).—*Attâbi* means *belonging to al-Attâbiyân*, a place in Baghdad so called, and situated on the west side of the river. Abû Mansûr resided there, but he afterwards removed to the east side. The surname of *al-Attâbi* was also borne by a celebrated poet called Abû Amr Kulthûm Ibn Amr Ibn Aiyûb, but he derived it from the circumstance of his being descended from Attâb Ibn Saad Ibn Zuhair Ibn Jusham. Kulthûm was an eloquent and able poet, who celebrated the praises of Harûn ar-Rashid and other great men. He belonged to Kinnisrin, an ancient city of Syria, near Aleppo. I should have mentioned him in this work, but, as it was designed to contain notices on those persons only the dates of whose death were known, and as I was unable to ascertain the time of his death, I felt constrained to omit him.

(1) The life of Ibn al-Jawâlki will be found in this work.

### TAJ AD-DIN AL-BANDAHÎ.

Abû Saïd—some say Abû Abd Allah—Muhammad Ibn Abi 's-Saâdât Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Masûd Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad al-Masûdi, surnamed *Tâj ad-din* (*crown of religion*) al Bandahi, was a native of Marwarrûd in Khorâsân, a doctor of the Shafite sect and a *shâfi*. He displayed great talents as a philologist and composed on al-Hariri's *Makâmus* (vol. II. p. 490) the fullest and most complete commentary ever written on that work. I saw a copy of it in five large volumes, which is more than twice the size of any other commentary composed to elucidate the *Makâmus*. This work bears a high character, and copies of it are very common. He resided at Damascus, in the Sumaisât convent (*Khânakâh*), and gave public lessons there. Previously to this, he had been preceptor to al-Malik al-Afdal (vol. II. page 353), the son of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, and, through his means, he was enabled to procure the numerous rare and valuable books, by the assistance of which he composed his



commentary on the *Makâmas*. Abû 'l-Barakât al-Hâshimi, a native of Aleppo, relates as follows : "When the sultan Salâh ad-din entered Aleppo in the year " 579 (A. D. 1183), al-Masûdi went down to the great mosque of that city, and " having installed himself in the library formed of the books given as *wakfs* (1) " to that establishment, he selected a great number of them (and took them away) " without meeting the slightest opposition. I myself saw him pack them up in " a pannier." I met some of al-Bandahi's disciples and received from them lessons and certificates of licence. We read, in the work of a modern historian, that al-Bandahi's birth took place in the year 521, but one of our literati states that he found the following note in al-Bandahi's own hand-writing : " I " was born at the hour of sunset, on the eve of Tuesday, the first of the latter " Rabi of the year 522 (April, A. D. 1128)." This statement is evidently more correct than the former, because it is taken from the handwriting of the person himself and indicates the day and month. He died at Damascus on the eve of Saturday, the 29th of the first Rabi, A. H. 584 (May, A. D. 1188). Some place his death on the 1st of the latter Rabi. He was interred at the foot of Mount Kâsiyûn. He settled his books as *wakfs* on the convent of which we have spoken. The following verses were often in his mouth :

" I saw tears of blood flow from your eyes," said she, "through apprehension of our " departure; why now hast thou replaced those tears of blood by tears of water?" I replied : " Not that I was solaced in thy absence or that I yielded to consolation : " those tears have turned grey from the lengthened age of my weeping."

Similar to this are the words of another poet :

Soûd said : " Dost thou shed tears of water after tears of blood?" I replied : " My " tears have turned grey from the lengthened age of my weeping."

This doctor bore the surname of *al-Masûdi* because he had an ancestor called *Masûd*.—Of *Marwarrûd* we have already spoken (vol. I. p. 50).—*Bandahi* means *belonging to Penj Dîh*, a district of Marwarrûd. *Penj Dîh* signifies *five villages*. To designate a native of this place, they employ also the words *al-Fanjîdîhi* and *al-Banjîdîhi*. It has produced many eminent and learned men.—*Kâsiyûn* is the name of a mountain rising on the north side of Damascus. It contains many beautiful country-seats, schools (*madrîs*), convents (*rubt*), and gardens; the river Yazid *has its source* in it, and the Thaura flows at its foot. It possesses

also a large mosque built by the sovereign of Arbela, Muzaffar ad-din, the son of Zain ad-din (*vol. II. p. 535*). Ibn Onain, a poet whose life we shall give, composed a *kastda*, rhyming in *l*, in praise of the sovereign of Yemen, Saif al-Islâm Ibn Aiyûb (*vol. I. p. 655*), and, as he expresses in this piece his desire of seeing Damascus again, he enumerates the delightful spots in its vicinity, and says, when speaking of Mount Kâsiyûn :

The ardent love of my heart for Kâsiyûn will subsist even when the foundations of that mountain have passed away.

It is a brilliant poem, full of originality and ornament.

(2) See vol. I. page 49.

### IBN NUKTA.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Ghani Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Shujâa Ibn Abi 'n-Nasr Ibn Abd Allah al-Hanbali (*doctor of the Hanbalite sect*), generally known by the appellation of Ibn Nukta and surnamed Moîn ad-din (*defender of the faith*), was an eminent traditionist and a native of Baghdad. His ardour in search of Traditions, the quantity of them which he heard and committed to paper, and the frequent journeys which he undertook for the purpose of procuring them raised him to celebrity. He travelled to Khorâsân, Persian Irâk, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, visiting the principal traditionists, hearing their lessons, and obtaining information from their lips. He wrote a great deal and took down a quantity of useful notes. In the supplement which he composed to the emir Ibn Mâkûla's *Ikmâl* (*vol. II. p. 248*), and which forms two volumes, he displayed no inferior talent. He wrote also a small work on patronymies (*ansâb*), which serves as a supplement to the treatise composed on that subject by Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi (*vol. III. p. 5*), and to that of Abû Mûsa al-Ispahâni (*vol. III. p. 4*). Another work of his, the *Kitâb at-Takyîd* (*book of*

fixation), contains all the (*requisite*) information respecting (*the right orthography of the names of*) the traditionists, (*of the unusual words occurring in*) the different collections of Traditions and (*of the names occurring in*) the *isnads* (1). When I first heard of him, he was still living, but I never had an opportunity of meeting him. Ibn al-Musta'fi (*vol. II. p. 556*) mentions him, in the History of Arbela, as one of the persons who visited that city and heard Traditions delivered there. He speaks of him with commendation and adds: "He recited to me the following verses as having been composed by Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Abi 's-Shibl, a native of Baghdad and one of the best poets that Irâk has produced in modern times:" — Ibn al-Haziri (*vol. I. p. 563*) gives them also in his *Zîna tad-Dahr*—

"Discover not thy sufferings or thy joys to a censor or a false friend; for pretended sympathy is as bitter to the heart as the exultation of foes."

Ibn Nukta died at Baghdad on the 22nd of Safar, A. H. 629 (December, A. D. 1231), at an advanced age. I was then residing at Aleppo for the purpose of pursuing my studies, and it was there we received intelligence of his death.—His father Abd al-Ghani died at Baghdad on the 4th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 583 (August, A. D. 1187), and was interred near the mosque of his *quarter*. His frugality and disinterestedness rendered him celebrated.—Abû Ali Ibn Abi 's-Shibl died A. H. 473 (A. D. 1080-1). The *kâtib* Imad ad-din speaks of him in the *Kharîda*.

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxii.

## IBN AD-DUBAITHI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Ma'âlî Said Ibn Abi Talib Yahya Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Hajjâj Ibu Muhammad Ibn al-Hajjâj, generally known by the appellation of Ibn ad-Dubaithi, was a native of Wâsit, an

historian, and a doctor of the sect of as-Shāfi. He received a great quantity of Traditions by oral transmission, and formed some collections of useful notes (*taḍkik*). His memory was stocked with pieces of great beauty, and these he often cited in conversation. By his learning in the Traditions and his correct knowledge of the names of the traditionists and of history, he acquired the reputation of an able *hāfiẓ* and a genius of the first order. He composed a work which he designed as a continuation to Abū Saad Abd al-Karim as-Samāni's (*vol. II. p. 156*) supplement to the Khatib's (*vol. I. page 75*) History of Baghdad, and in it he gives notices on the persons whom as-Samāni had forgotten and on those who lived subsequently to that writer. It fills three volumes and possesses considerable merit (4). He wrote also a history of Wāsit and other works. Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. I. p. 556*) makes mention of him in the History of Arbela and says: "He entered our city in the month of Zū 'l-Kaada, A. H. 614 (March, A. D. 1215). He was a fine-looking old man." He then adds that Ibn ad-Dubaiṭhi recited to him the following piece as of his own composition:

I put mankind to the test, but found not a true friend, a helper in adversity. I showed them the sincerest friendship, but received a troubled and insincere attachment in return. Never, when I chose from among them a companion who pleased me, had I cause to praise his conduct in the end.

Ibn ad-Dubaiṭhi continued to study and take notes up to the moment of his death. His birth took place at Wāsit on Monday, the 26th of Rajab, A. H. 558 (June, A. D. 1163); he died at Baghdad on Monday, the 8th of the latter Rabi, 637 (November, A. D. 1239). The next day, he was interred in the Wardiya cemetery. — *Dubaiṭhi* means *belonging to Dubaiṭha*, a village in the neighbourhood of Wāsit. His ancestors belonged to Kanjah (*in the province of Arrān*), and his grandfather removed from Dubaiṭha to Wāsit, where the family multiplied. — His father Abū 'l-Maālī Saïd died at Wāsit on the eve of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 585 (December, A. D. 1189); he was born in that place on the 27th of Safar, A. H. 527 (January, A. D. 1133).

(4) The second volume of this work is in the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 748. It begins with the *Ahmeds* and ends with the *ha*, the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet.

## IBN ZAFAR AS-SAKALLI.

Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Zafar as-Sakalli (native of Sicily), surnamed *Hujja tad-dīn* (proof of religion), was an accomplished scholar versed in the belles-lettres, and author of some instructive works. One of these, the *Sulwān al-Mutā fi Odwān al-Atbāa* (consolation for the master who suffers from the enmity of his servants), he composed in the year 554 (A.D. 1159), for a certain chief who was then in Sicily (1). His other works are: the *Khair al-Bishr bi-Khair il-Bashar* (excellent news concerning the best of mankind) (2), a large commentary on the Koran, entitled *al-Yanbūa* (the source), the *Kitāb Nujabā 'l-Abnā* (history of clever children) (3), a *Hāshia*, or appendix to al-Hariri's *Durra tal-Ghawwās* (vol. II. p. 492), and two commentaries on the same author's *Makāmas*, — one ample, the other concise. He left also some other compositions of great elegance. I read, towards the beginning of his commentary, that he had been taught (the *Makāmas*) by the *hāfiz* Abū Tāhir as-Silafi (vol. I. p. 86), who had learned them from the author, al-Hariri: people say, however, that when as-Silafi saw al-Hariri in the mosque of Basra, teaching his *Makāmas* to a circle of students, he asked who he was, and receiving for answer: "That man has fabricated a set of lying stories, and is now dictating them to the public," he said not another word, but turned away from him in disdain. God best knows which of these statements is true. The following anecdote has been handed down as a relation made by the *shaikh* Taj ad-dīn al-Kindi (vol. I. p. 546): "Having obtained a draught on the government office (*diwān*) in Hamat for a gratuity, I went to receive the amount, and, on my arrival, an interview was brought about between me and Ibn Zafar. We then engaged in a grammatical and philological discussion, during which I proposed to him some questions on the former subject and brought him to a stand. His skill in philology appeared nearly as limited, and, when the assembly was about to break up, he said: 'The *shaikh* Taj ad-din surpasses me in grammar, but I excel him in philology;' on which I answered: 'Thy first assertion is granted and thy second denied.' We then separated." Ibn Zafar was of a short stature, a puny figure, and by no means well-looking. Some

poetry is ascribed to him, and I found the following verses in a compilation which goes under his name :

I bear thee in my heart; dost thou then know that thou art borne about even when thou remainest at home? Is not that person highly prized by me whom I long to meet and who dwells within my bosom?

He has borrowed this thought from an Arab of the desert, who said :

Though I never inhabited the land where Sulaima took up her abode, I pray that a dark cloud may show her its lightnings, and refresh with its showers the dwelling-place of a person dear to my heart.

Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni quotes, in his *Kharîda*, a number of pieces composed by Ibn Zafar, and, amongst others, the following :

A man's misfortunes correspond to his merits; and, by his patience under affliction, his share of merit may be known. He who has but little firmness in facing what he apprehends, will have but little chance of gaining what he hopes for.

Ibn Zafar was born in Sicily and brought up at Mekka; he kept removing from one country to another, and at length died at Hamât in the year 565 (A. D. 1169-70). The whole period of his life was passed in the sufferings of poverty: it is even related that, in Hamât, want and misery forced him to marry his daughter to a person much beneath her; the bridegroom then left the city with his wife, and sold her as a slave in another country (4).—*Zafar* is the noun of action belonging to a verb which, taking *zafira* in the preterite and *yazfaru* in the aorist, means *to obtain a thing*. (*It is here employed as a proper name.*) Having already spoken of *Sakalliya* (Sicily) (vol. II. p. 461), we need not repeat our observations here.

(1) Sicily was at that time under the domination of William the Bad, the second Norman king. This circumstance induced me to examine Ibn Zafar's work in the hopes of finding some information respecting the state of that country, but was unable to discover any thing of the kind. It is a collection of apologues and historical anecdotes. This work, of which three or four copies are preserved in the *Bib. du Roi*, is highly esteemed in the East, and has been translated into Persian and Turkish.

(2) A copy of this work is preserved in the *Bib. du Roi*. It is divided into four chapters: the first on the passages in the Books of God (*the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospel*) which foretel the mission of Mubammad. The second contains the ancient popular traditions relative to this event; the third, the

predictions on the same subject made by the *Kāhins* (*Arabian diviners*); and the fourth, such information respecting the coming of Muhammad as was derived from the *Jinn* (*genii*).

(3) A copy of this work is in the *Bib. du Ros.* As the title indicates, it contains anecdotes of children remarkable for precocious talent. The historian and the philologist will find in it much curious information.

(4) This act was contrary to law.

### AL-OTBI THE POET.

Abū Abd ar-Rahmān Muḥammad Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Omar Ibn Moawia Ibn Omar Ibn Oṭba Ibn Abi Sofyān Sakhr Ibn Harb Ibn Omaiya Ibn Abd Shams, surnamed at-Oṭbi, was a member of the tribe of Koraish and of the family of Omaiya, a native of Basra and a poet of great celebrity. This accomplished scholar and able poet delivered orally historical Traditions and the narrations of the combats which took place between the Arabs of the desert; he composed also some elegies on the death of his sons. The authorities which he cited for his information were Sofyān Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. p. 578*), Lūt Ibn Muhnaf, and his own father; amongst those who delivered traditional information on his authority were: Abū Hātim as-Sijistāni (*v. I. p. 603*), Abū 'l-Fadl ar-Riāshi (*v. II. p. 10*), and Ishak Ibn Muhammad an-Nakhāi. Having proceeded to Baghdad, he taught Traditions to the people of that city, but he was more generally noted for drinking wine and composing love-verses on Oṭba. He and his father held a high rank by the respectability of their family, and both bore the reputation of accomplished scholars and elegant speakers. Amongst the works which he compiled were: a Book of Horses, a collection of poems composed by the Arabs of the desert, a collection of poems composed by females whose love had turned to hatred, the *Kutāb ad-Dabṭh* (*victims for sacrifice*), and the *Kutāb al-Akhlāk* (*de moribus*), etc. Ibn Kntaiba (*vol. II. page 22*) mentions him in the *Kutāb al-Madrif*, and Ibn al Munajjim (1) in the *Kutāb al-Bārī*. The latter writer gives the following verses as al-Oṭbi's:

When the maidens remarked the tinge of grey appearing on my cheeks, they turned away from me their faces radiant with beauty. When they saw or heard me, they ran off to the tops of the sand-hills at al-Mahājir (2). But though they turn their eyes away

from me, they cast (*towards me*) furtive glances like those of the fawn and gazelle; for I belong to a family of high renown, whose feet were formed to tread the pulpit (3); khalifs in Islamic times; mighty chiefs in the times of idolatry; to them belonged every glory, and such an ancestry might form the boaster's proudest vaunt.

A collection of pieces in my own handwriting contains some verses of the *sharf* ar-Rida's (4), in which a similar thought is expressed.—Ibn al-Munajjim quotes also these verses as his :

When Sulaima saw me turn my eyes away—and I turn my glances away from all who resemble her—she said: "I once saw thee mad (*with love*);" and I replied: "Youth is a madness of which old age is the cure."

This verse has now acquired the force of a proverb. Al-Mubarrad (*vol. III. p. 31*) cites, in his *Kāmil*, two verses in which al-Otbi deplores the death of one of his sons; they are as follows :

Tears have furrowed my cheeks through grief for thy loss, and wounds have covered my heart. Resignation meets with approval in every case, but in thine it merits blame.

This verse also has obtained great currency. The poetical pieces of al-Otbi are numerous and good; he was one of the best poets of Islamic times. He died A. H. 228 (A. D. 842-3).—The surname of *al-Otbi* was borne by him because he drew his descent from Otha, the son of Abū Sofyān. *Otbi* signifies also *descended from Otha Ibn Ghaziwān*, one of the Prophet's companions. It is possible also that our poet may have received this surname on account of the poems which he composed in praise of his beloved *Otha*.

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) This is merely a conjectural translation of the verse.

(3) Literally: "For whose feet the tops of the pulpits were formed." In the first ages of Islamism, the khalif in person pronounced the *khotba* from the pulpit. The poet here alludes to his descent from the Omaiyides.

(4) His life will be found in this volume.



## ABU BAKR AL-KHOWAREZMI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Abbâs al-Khowârezmi, surnamed also at-Ta-barkhazi, (because, says as-Samâni (*vol. II. p. 156*), his father belonged to Kho-wârezm and his mother to Tabaristân, and the son combined these two denomi-nations into one,) was, as we have already said in the life of Ibn Jarir at-Tabari (*vol. II. p. 597*), a sister's son to that historian. Abû Bakr ranked among the greatest and the most renowned of the poets; he was held also as a first-rate au-thority in philology and genealogy. He resided for some time in Syria, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and was highly distinguished by his contemporaries. It is related that having gone to see the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p. 212*), who was then holding his court at Arrajân, he requested one of the chamberlains to an-nounce to him that a literary man desired permission to enter. The chamber-lain took in the message, and his master replied: "Tell him that I have bound  
 " myself not to receive any literary man unless he know by heart twenty thou-  
 " sand verses composed by the Arabs of the desert." The chamberlain returned  
 back with this answer, and Abû Bakr said: "Ask him if he means twenty  
 " thousand verses composed by men, or twenty thousand composed by wo-  
 " men?" This question was repeated to the *Sâhib*, who immediately exclaimed:  
 "This must be Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi! let him come in." Abû Bakr then  
 entered, and being recognised by the *Sâhib*, he met a most favorable reception. Abû Bakr left a collection (*diwân*) of epistles and another of poetry. Ath-Thaâ-libi (*vol. II. p. 129*) mentions him in the *Yatima* and quotes a passage from his  
 prose-writings, to which he subjoins some extracts from his poems. Amongst  
 the pieces given there are the following:

I see that, when wealthy, you pitch your tent close to us, and that, when you are in want, you visit us seldom. 'Tis with you as with the moon: when her light is diminish-ing, she delays her visits, but when it increases, she remains with

O thou who longest for draughts of pure wine, but who, occur what may, wilt never break the seal of the paper (*in which thy money is rolled up*); know that the purse and the goblet cannot be filled at the same time; empty then thy purse, that thou mayest fill thy goblet.

Abû Said Ahmad Ibn Shuhaib, a native of Khowârezm, composed the following verses on Abû Bakr :

Abû Bakr possesses learning and talent, but he does not adhere to his engagements. The attachment which he shows for a friend lasts from morning to night (*and no longer*).

The anecdotes told of Abû Bakr are very numerous. On his return to Syria, he settled at Naisâpûr, and died in that city on the 15th of Ramadân, A. H. 383 (November, A. D. 993), but, in the historical work of our master Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p. 288*) his death is placed ten years later. God best knows which is right. Abû Bakr took leave of the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd, little pleased with his reception, and he then composed on him these lines :

Praise not Ibn Abbâd when his hands shower forth generosity so as to shame the rain-cloud. Such acts are merely the suggestions of his fancy ; he grants, but not from liberality, and he refuses, but not from avarice.

Ibn Abbâd was told of this, and, on receiving intelligence of the poet's death, he said :

I said to the caravan returning from Khorâsân : " Is your Khowârezmite dead ? " and they answered : " Yes. " On this I said : " Inscribe these words upon his tomb : " *May the curse of the Almighty light upon the ungrateful !* "

I found these verses given as having been composed by Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi upon the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd, and a number of literary men have made the same statement in their compilations and in conversation ; but happening since to examine al Marzubânî's (*vol. III. p. 68*) *Mojam as-Shuarâ*, I met the following lines in the life of Moawia Ibn Sofyân, surnamed Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Aama (*the blind*), a poet and one of the persons who, at Baghdad, repeated from memory the compositions of former authors ; he had been a pupil of al-Kisâi's (*vol. II. p. 237*), and was employed by al-Hasan Ibn Sahl (*vol. I. p. 408*) to instruct his children. Having incurred Ibn Sahl's reprehension for something which he had done, he pronounced these satirical lines :

Praise not Hasan for generosity, though his hands shower gifts in abundance ; blame him not, if he withhold his favours. It is not through parsimony that he refuses, neither is it in hopes of fame that he bestows. Such acts are merely the suggestions of his fancy ; he grants, but not from liberality, and he refuses, but not from avarice.

God best knows the truth in this matter.—We have already spoken of the word *Khowdrezmi* (1)

(1) This, I believe, is an error; in the part of his work which precedes, the author has said nothing on the subject. In Arabic, the word is pronounced *Khowdrazmi*, and means *natives of Khowdrezm* (or Khârizm).

### AS-SALAMI THE POET.

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah (1) Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Khulais Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Walid Ibn al-Walid Ibn al-Mughaira Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Omar Ibn Makhzûm Ibn Yakza Ibn Murra Ibn Kaab Ibn Luwai Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Fihl Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nadr Ibn Kinâna Ibn Khuẓaima Ibn Mudrika Ibn al-Yâs Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân al-Makhzûmi as-Salâmi, a celebrated poet, drew his descent from al-Walid, the son of al-Wâlid Ibn al-Mughaira al-Makhzûmi and the brother of Khalid Ibn al-Walid (*the first Moslim conqueror of Syria*). Ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p. 129*) speaks of him in these terms (2): “He was incontrovertibly the best poet of Irâk, and his right to that rank is sufficiently evinced by his merit. The opinion which we have expressed concerning him is supported by a sure testimony, that of his poems; and the beauties of his compositions which we have here inscribed are a delight for the eye, a charm for the heart, and a satisfaction for the mind. He began to utter verses at the age of ten years, and the first piece he ever pronounced was the following, recited by him one day at school :

“The charms of beauty (*we remark*) in him are various; the eyes of mankind are fixed on him with one accord. The arrow of his glances is sharp, and his glance never misses its aim. Beauty has inscribed upon his cheek: *This is a beautiful being; as true as his creator exists!*”

“He passed his early youth at Baghdad, and removed to Mésul when yet a boy. He there met some poets of the highest eminence, such as Abû Oth-

“mân al-Khâlidi, (one of the two Khâlidites) (3), Abû 'l-Faraj al-Babbaghâ  
 “(vol. II. p. 147), Abû 'l-Hasan at-Tallâfari, and others. When they saw him,  
 “they were astonished that such talents could exist in a boy so young, and they  
 “suspected that the verses which he repeated were not his own. Al-Khâlidi  
 “then observed that he would undertake to put him to the test, and having  
 “prepared a banquet, he invited these poets and as-Salâmi. When in the midst  
 “of their potations, they proceeded to make a trial of his talents, and a heavy  
 “fall of snow having very soon after covered the face of the earth, al-Khâlidi  
 “took an orange and threw it upon the snow: ‘Now,’ said he to his compa-  
 “nions, ‘let us try and describe that object.’ Upon this as-Salâmi delivered  
 “extemporaneously the following lines:

“How admirable the talent of al-Khâlidi, a genius unrivalled, generous, and grand!  
 “To the frozen water of the cloud he made a present of an ardent fire (4), and when  
 “the noble hearts of (*his companions*) addressed reproaches to him, the hands of joy  
 “offered him this excuse drawn from my mind: *Blame him not; he has only made the*  
 “*cheeks a present to the mouth* (5).

“When they saw him capable of producing such verses as these, they let  
 “him alone; all praised his talents and acknowledged his merit and acuteness,  
 “with the exception of al-Tallâfari, who persevered in his former opinion. In  
 “this he was so obstinate, that as-Salâmi at length attacked him in these lines:

“At-Tallâfari aspired to my friendship, but the soul of a dog would despise such  
 “friendship as his. His character is repugnant to mine, and my actions scorn to be  
 “joined with his. *Ars mea nobilis in linguâ sita est, ars ejus vilis in tergo. Homo*  
 “*non est ille mihi versus facienti conveniens; homo non sum ad illum pertundendum*  
 “*aptus* (6).

“He composed also many more satires on the same person. Having gone one  
 “day to see Abû Taghlib,”—Abû Taghlib al-Hamdâni (7) I suppose is meant,—  
 “the latter, who had a coat of mail lying before him, desired the poet to de-  
 “scribe it in verse. As-Salâmi immediately extemporised these lines:

“How often has an ample (*coat of mail*) rendered me service and I requited it with  
 “evil, yet no one reproached me: from morn to night it preserved me from death, and  
 “yet I expiated it to the strokes of every sword.”

This idea is borrowed from a piece already quoted (vol. II. p. 43), in which  
 Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz speaks of boiled wine; he there says:

It preserves me from the fires of hell, and that, we must allow, is a great service.

As-Salâmi proceeded to the court of as-Sâhib Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p. 212*) at Ispahân, and recited to him the poem rhyming in *b*, which contains this verse :

We abandoned ourselves to sin, when we found that forgiveness was the fruit of crime.

This verse, which is one of his finest, contains an allusion to the idea expressed by Abû Nuwâs al-Hasan Ibn Hâni (*vol. I. p. 391*) in a poem the subject of which is self-mortification ; he says :

You shall gnaw your hands with regret, for the pleasures which you avoided through fear of hell.

It approaches also to the thought which (*the khalif*) al-Mâmûn thus expressed :  
 “ If criminals knew what pleasure I take in pardoning, they would strive to  
 “ gain my favour by committing crimes.” — “ (8) Whilst as-Salâmi remained  
 “ with the *Sâhib*, he enjoyed favours in profusion, ample honours and untrou-  
 “ bled pleasure. At length he resolved on visiting the court of Adud ad-Daw-  
 “ lat Ibn Buwaih (*vol. II. p. 481*) at Shirâz, and the *Sâhib* not only provided him  
 “ with a conveyance for his journey, but gave him a letter of recommendation  
 “ addressed to the *kâtib* Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Aziz Ibn Yûsuf, an eloquent writer  
 “ and one of the persons employed by Adud ad-Dawlat in the capacity of vizir.  
 “ Here is a copy of the letter : ‘ Your lordship knows that the traders in poetry  
 “ (*shêr*) are more numerous than the hairs of the head (*shâr*), and that those  
 “ persons are much less so whose jewels, when offered (*for sale*), can be confi-  
 “ dently taken as the workmanship of their own genius, and whose embroi-  
 “ dered tissues, when presented (*to purchasers*), can be considered as wrought  
 “ on the loom of their own imagination. Now, amongst the persons whom I  
 “ have put to the test and approved, whom I have tried and chosen, is Abû 'l-  
 “ Hasan Muhammad as-Salâmi, the originality of whose talent surpasses ex-  
 “ pectation, and the peculiar art with which he displays its excellence excites  
 “ the ear to listen with delight to his compositions and the eye to peruse  
 “ them. Mounted on the steed of hope, he is induced to visit the Majestic  
 “ Presence, in the expectation of being admitted into the band of his fellow-

“poets and attracting notice by the lustre of his endowments. I have therefore dispatched (*to you*), in his person, the *emir of poets*, escorted by the train of his (*accomplishments*), and I have adorned that vigorous courser of eloquence with the harness which becomes him. This, my letter, serves him as a guide towards the (*regions watered by the*) showers (*of liberality*), or rather as a path conducting him to the ocean (*of beneficence*); therefore, if your lordship judge proper to take into consideration these words of mine in his favour, and to let them be the means of procuring your consent to his wishes, you will, I hope, execute what you resolve.’ When Abû ‘l-Kâsim received this letter, he took the poet under his charge and treated him with special favour. He then presented him to Adud ad-Dawlat, that he might recite to that prince the *kastida* which contains this passage:

“To reach thee, a man who made the sight of thy palace the term of his camel’s journey, crossed the wide-extended desert. I and my courage in the depths of darkness, and my sword, were three companions, united like (*the stars of the constellation of*) the eagle. I encouraged my hopes with the sight of a king who (*for me*) would replace mankind, of a palace which (*for me*) would be the world, and of a day of meeting which (*for me*) would be worth an eternity.”

We have already mentioned these verses in the life of Adud ad-Dawlat (*vol. II. p. 482*). “Adud ad-Dawlat then took him under the wing of his favour, and handed him the key which opened (*the door*) to the advantages he expected; sojourning or journeying, he kept him attached to his person, and raised him to ample fortune by his donations. ‘When I see as-Salâmi,’ said he, ‘at my levees, it seems to me as if the planet Mercury (9) had descended from its sphere to stand before me.’ On the death of this prince, as-Salâmi returned to his usual habits, and his means underwent diminution; sometimes they rose, sometimes they fell, and so they continued till the moment of his death.” He composed a number of highly beautiful *kastidas* on Adud ad-Dawlat, and it is in one of those pieces that we find the following passage:

I roused my boon companions as the dog-star passed above us, and the moon in the expanse of heaven seemed like a pond in the midst of a meadow. “Awake!” (*said I*,) “the spy now sleeps from fatigue, and pleasure has awaked!” Satan prompted us (*to sin*); and we all declared him an excellent counsellor! Prostrated on the battle-field (*of pleasure*), our aspect caused the beasts of prey and the vultures to shun us (10). The blooming flowers of our meadow are female cheeks, and female waists are its pliant

shrubs. The enjoyments of life are always best hidden when the veils (*in which false modesty shrouds us*) are rent away. "Awake! hasten to drink of generous wine! this "world is a mere illusion." The cupbearers passed the goblet around, and offered it to the guest as the falcon offers the game to the sportsman. This virgin liquor comes disguised by the admixture of water, concealed in it as the soul is concealed in the body. The red surface crowned with bubbles seems like a cheek receiving a kiss (11). We at length sunk in prostration, but we had then before us for *imām* (*to direct our devotions*) the lyre and the guitar!

In another piece of verse, he says of Adud ad-Dawlat :

Thy bounty visits the needy, thy sword the rebel, and are received, that by hands, and this by necks. Each day adds to the treasury of thy glory, whilst it exhausts the wealth of thy treasury.

He said also of the same prince :

For bravery and generosity his eulogists compared him to persons who, had they seen this prince, would have become the humblest of his servants. Why! in his army he has fifty thousand Antars braver even than he, and in his treasurers a thousand Hâtims (12).

In one of his pieces he says :

If (*our*) lips be impressed upon thy cheek, they are imprisoned in the chains of thy *izâr* (13).

And from this verse at-Tallâfari took the idea expressed in the following line :

Suppose that a cheek be pressed to thine, how can thy ringlets, then imprisoned, roam freely (14).

As-Salâmi had in fact recited to at-Tallâfari the piece to which this verse belongs. At-Tallâfari's names were as-Shihâb (*Shihâb ad-dîn*) Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Masûd as-Shaibânî (15). We may sum up as-Salâmi's merits by saying that the greater part of his poems are exquisite. He was born in Karkh, the suburb of Baghdad, on Friday evening, the 6th of Rajab, A. H. 336 (January, A. D. 948), and he died on Thursday, the 4th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 393 (March, A. D. 1003).—*Salâmi* means *belonging to Dar as-Salâm* (*the abode of welfare*), that is, Baghdad. This remark we have already made in the life of the *hâfiz* Muhammad Ibn Nâsir (*vol. III: p. 11*).

(1) In the MS. of the *Yatima*, No. 1370, as-Salâmi's names are written: Abû Husain Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allah.

(2) See *Yatima*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 1370, fol. 194 verso.

(3) Vol. II. page 263.

(4) The poet thus designates the orange on account of its colour.

(5) That is: He permitted the mouth to kiss the cheeks.—The teeth are often compared to hail-stones, and the red-skinned orange is compared to the cheek of the beloved.

(6) The verb *صفع* (*colaphum impingere alicui*) bears also the obscene signification of *pertundere*.

(7) For the history of Abû Taghlib al-Ghadanfer al-Hamdâni, see vol. I. p. 405, and Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, years 358, 359, 367, 369.

(8) Ibn Khallikân here resumes his extract from the *Yatima*. See MS. No. 1370, fol. 196 v.

(9) See vol. II. p. 562, note (8).

(10) The poet here imitates a verse of Amr 'l-Kais, where he says: *Et pernoctavimus, feris à nobis retrocedentibus, humi jacentes ac si duo occisi essemus.*—(*Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, p. 72.)

(11) The mouth, or rather the teeth, are compared to white objects, such as flowers, hailstones, bubbles on water, etc. The inverse also takes place.

(12) The bravery of Antar and the generosity of Hâtim are well known.

(13) See vol. I. page xxxvi.

(14) The verb *راح*, here rendered by *roam freely*, bears also the signification of *to smell sweetly*. The poet plays upon this double meaning.

(15) Ibn Khallikân has committed an error here: The author of the *Yatima* informs us that at-Tallâfari's names were Abû 'l-Husain Ali Ibn Ahmad. As for the poet and philologist Shihâb ad-dîn Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Mas'ûd as-Shaibânî at-Tallâfari, we learn from the *Nujâm* that he was born at Mosul, A. H. 393 (A. D. 1196-7), and died at Hamât in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 675 (March, A. D. 1277).

## IBN SUKKARA AL-HASHIMI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad, a celebrated poet of Baghdad and generally known by the appellation of Ibn Sukkara al-Hâshimi, drew his descent from Ali, the son of al-Mahdi, the son of Abû Jaafar al-Manstûr, the Abbâside khalif. Ath-Tha'alibi has an article on him, in which he says (1): "This poet had a great command over all the beauties of composition; in the expression of novel and witty allusions he surpassed the ablest poets, even those who took the lead, directing, as he pleased, his course through the hippodrome of humour and licentiousness. It was currently said at Baghdad



“ that an epoch which bestowed upon the world such men as Ibn Sukkara and “ Ibn Hajjāj (*vol. I. page 448*) was extremely bountiful, and that these two “ were for that age what Jarir (*vol. I. p. 294*) and al-Farazdak were for theirs.” It is said that the *diwān* of Ibn Sukkara’s works contains upwards of fifty thousand verses. A charming comparison of his is that expressed in the following lines, composed on a boy bearing in his hand a branch tipped with flowers :

A branch of willow (*a slender-waisted youth*) appeared, and in his hand a branch bearing a string of pearls. I stood in admiration at these two branches ; one bore a rising moon (*a handsome face*), and the other bore stars (*flowers*) (2).

In another of his pieces he says :

• By Allah ! I perish ! I despair of my life, unless I see that waist which caused my trouble (3).

Abū ’l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Fath, a poet of Baghdad and generally known by the surname of Ibn Abi ’l-Asb—or Ibn al-Asb—al-Ushnāni al-Milhi (4) relates as follows : “ Ibn Sukarra al-Hāshimi wrote to me these lines :

“ O friend whom fortune has bestowed upon me ! fortune so avaricious in bestowing “ true friends ! We are now far asunder, and cannot meet except in dreams (5). “ One single cause has placed a distance between us : I am *sukkar* (*sugar*) and thou “ art *milh* (*salt*).

“ To this I wrote in reply :

“ How can united brethren be induced to say to a friend the sincerity of whose attachment is tainted with sarcasm : ‘ There is *sugar* between us, spoil it not ! ’ or how “ can they say : ‘ Wretch that thou art ! there is salt between us ( ; *prove not a traitor* “ *to it* ) (6). ”

In a satire directed against a man in power, Ibn Sukkara said :

You treat us with haughtiness, yet you are not a khalif or a khalif’s heir. Be insolent, even more than you are, (*I care not*), I have neither pension nor place to lose. Say not : “ I am faultless ; ” the chastest maiden is exposed to the strokes of slander. Poetry is fire without smoke, and rhymes possess a subtle magic. How many the powerful, the aspiring, whom a few words have hurled from their elevation. Musk, though worthy of all praise, is converted by satire into carrion (7).

Another of his pieces is the following :

I was asked what I had prepared against the cold which had just set in with intensity; and I replied: A waistcoat of nakedness, and underneath it a shirt of shivering.

He is also the author of the two following verses, quoted by al-Hariri in his *Makāma*, entitled *al-Karajīya* (8):

The winter set in, and I provided myself with seven things necessary when the rain prevents us from pursuing our usual occupations. (*These things are:*) A shelter, a purse, a stove, a cup of wine preceded by a bit of meat, a tender maid, and a cloak (9).

Ibn at-Taâwîzi, a poet whose life we shall give, composed the following lines on the same model:

When seven things are collected together in the drinking-room, it is not reasonable to stay away. These are: Roast meat, a melon, honey, a young girl, wax-lights, a singer to delight us, and wine (10).

And Abû 'l-Thanâ Mahmûd Ibn Nêma Ibn Arslân, the grammarian, composed these verses on the same subject:

They say that the *k's* of winter are numerous, and yet none can doubt that there is only one: If you possess the *k* of *kis* (*purse*), you possess all the rest; in the flesh of the onager is found the taste of every species of game (11).

Speaking of youth, Ibn Sukkara said:

Youth has departed! that youth which once was full of sap, covered with fruit and shady foliage. It was a portion of thyself, but it has perished; know that when a portion of thyself has perished, all of thee has perished.

The poetical compositions of Ibn Sukkara abound in beauties. He died on Wednesday, the 11th of the latter Rabi', A. H. 385 (May, A. D. 995). — The birth of Ibn Abi 'l-Ash took place subsequently to the year 285 (A. D. 898), and, in the year 374 (A. D. 984-5), al-Hasan Ibn Ali al-Jauhari heard him repeat the verses quoted above. — Abû 'l-Thanâ Mahmûd Ibn Nêma died at Damascus, A. H. 565 (A. D. 1169-70). The *katib* Imâd ad-dîn speaks of him in the *Kharîda*, and mentions that, in the year 563, he met him at Damascus and heard him repeat

numerous fragments of his poetical compositions.—*Sukkara* (*sugar*): this word is so well-known that it requires no explanation.

(4) *Yatima*, MS. No. 1370, fol. 207.

(2) Here follow, in the original, two other pieces, each containing two verses. As they evidently refer to an unnatural passion, they have not been translated.

(3) In the original is a play upon the words *kāmat*, *akāmat*, and *kiāmat*, all deriving from the same root.

(4) *Ushnāni* means *belonging to Ushnān*, a place near Baghdad. *Milhi* signifies a *seller of salt*.

(5) Literally: Unless the *khidl* (*image of the friend, or of the beloved, seen in a dream*) kindly effect (*our*) meeting.

(6) These words appear to mean: Friendship still subsists between us; spoil it not! Friendship cemented by conviviality subsists between us, but thou art about to ruin it.

(7) Musk may be considered as carrion, because it is animal substance.

(8) See de Sacy's *Hariri*, page 77.

(9) In the Arabic, the names of these seven things commence with the letter *k*; for which reason they are designated as *the seven k's*. By *the sixth k* (*al-Kāf as-Sādisa*) is meant the female sexual organ. Ibn Arab-shāh relates, in his history of Tīmūr, that Shāh Mansūr, on being advised by his principal officers to avoid a battle with so powerful a chief, held up his mace and exclaimed: “هَذَا الْكَافُ فِي الْكَافِ السَّادِسَةِ مِنْ” *may this (mace, as strait as the letter) alif be stuck into the sixth kāf of the mother of him who flies from Tīmūr!*”—Manger, the editor of the text and Latin translation of that work, has, as usual, completely misunderstood the passage.

(10) Here, the seven words begin by an *sh*.

(11) This is a common proverbial expression. See Freytag's *Meidanti proverbial*, tom. II, p. 316.

### THE SHARIF AR-RIDA.

The *Sharif ar-Rida* (*the favorably accepted descendant of Muhammad*) (1) Abū 'l-Hasan Muhammad, surnamed al-Mūsawi (*the descendant of Mūsa*), was the son of at-Tāhir Zū 'l-Manākib, the son of Abū Ahmad al-Husain, the son of Mūsa, the son of Muhammad, the son of Mūsa, the son of Ibrahim, the son of Mūsa al-Kāzim (2), the son of Jaafar as-Sādik (*vol. I. p. 300*), the son of Muhammad al-Bākir (*vol. II. p. 579*), the son of Ali Zain al-Aābidin (*vol. II. p. 209*), the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali, the son of Abū Tālib, God's blessing on them all!

The *sharîf* ar-Rida is the author of a *diwân* of poems, and ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p. 129*) has an article on him in the *Yatîma*. "He began," says this writer (3), "to utter verses soon after he had passed his tenth year, and he is, at this day, "the most remarkable person that the age has produced, and the most illustrious of the descendants of Muhammad who inhabit Irâk. To his noble origin "and exalted hereditary glory, he joins the ornaments of brilliant literary information, splendid talents, and a copious portion of every fair endowment. He "is moreover the ablest poet of all the descendants of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlih, past or "present, though many of them were eminent in that art; were I even to declare him the best poet ever produced by the tribe of Kuraish, I should not "be far from the truth. My words will be fully confirmed by a strong testimony, that of his high-aiming verses which defy the severest criticism and "combine ease with majesty, facility with the perfection of art, and contain "thoughts easy of comprehension and profound in meaning. His father had, "in former days, exercised the functions of chief president of the descendants "of Ali (*nikâba nukabâ it-Tâlibiyyîn*), first magistrate of the empire (*an-Nazar fi 'l-Mazâlim*) and commander of the pilgrim caravan; these offices then devolved "to his son ar-Rida, in the year 388 (A.D. 998), his father being still alive." One of his most brilliant *kastîdas* is that which he addressed in the form of a letter to the *imâm* (*khalîf*) al-Kâdir billah Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad, the son of al-Mukta-dir, and in which we find the following passage :

I crave indulgence, Commander of the faithful! we are not borne on different branches of the tree of glory! On whatever day we may vaunt our honours, no difference shall appear between us: we are both firmly rooted in our illustrious rank. The khalifate alone makes a distinction between us; you wear that noble collar, I do not.

He is the author of these lines :

I aspired to honours, but they repelled my advances; the beloved always repels the lover. I waited with patience till I attained them, and I never said, through disgust: For an untoward wife, repudiation is the cure.

In of his pieces he says :

O my two friends! stop and satisfy my wishes: give me news of the land of Najd (4). Is the enclosure of al-Wasâ (*the sandy grounds*) covered with flowers? Have the rains refreshed *Karmila tal-Talh* (*the acacia groves*), where flourish the willow and the laurel?

Must a dwelling between this and Kāzima be my place of repose to-night? Shall I pass this evening in conversation with the people of that tribe? When they approach, the perfumes of Najd breathe from their garments, so lately was it that they departed from that home.

His poetical works fill a large *diwān* of four volumes. This collection is so frequently to be met with that it is useless to quote more passages. The grammarian Abū 'l-Fath Ibn Jinni (*vol. II. p. 191*) relates, in one of his compilations, that the *Sharīf* ar-Rida, when a mere boy, under ten years of age, went to take lessons from the grammarian Ibn as-Sirāfi (*vol. I. p. 377*), and one day, as he was sitting in the circle of scholars, his master questioned him on some points of syntax, according to the usual mode of instruction: "When we say," said he, "*rāitu Amran* (*I saw Amr*) (5), by what mark is it known that *Amr* is "in the accusative case (6)?" To this the *Sharīf* made answer: "His hatred "for Ali." As-Sirāfi and all the other persons present were struck with his acuteness of mind.—It is said that he commenced learning by heart the Koran at an advanced age, and completed the task in a very short time. He composed a work on the rhetorical figures of the Koran (*Maḍmī 'l-Kurān*), to which it would be difficult to find one equal in merit; it indicates the author's vast information in grammar and philology. He drew up also a treatise on the metaphors of the Korān (*Majāzāt al-Kurān*), one of the most remarkable works on the subject. Different persons have essayed to collect the poetical works of the *Sharīf* ar-Rida, but the best edition is that of Abū Ḥakīm al-Khābari. I was told by a man of considerable talent, that he read the following anecdote in a certain compilation: "One of the *literati* happened to pass by the house of the *Sharīf* ar-Rida at Sarr "man rāa; he was not aware of the circumstance, but, being struck by the "ravages it had sustained from time, by its ruined magnificence, its mouldering "walls, and the shattered ruins which still testified its former splendour and "beauty, he stopped to contemplate it, and reflect upon the vicissitudes of time "and the sudden strokes of adversity. He then recited the following lines, "composed by the *Sharīf* ar-Rida, applying them by an appropriate allusion to "the objects before his eyes:

"I stopped at the vernal habitations of my friends, but the hand of ruin had devastated their walls. And I wept till my weary camel grew impatient and my fellow-travellers rebuked my delay. I then turned my eyes away from those mouldering remains; yet, when hidden from my sight, my heart still turned towards them.

“ A person who passed by and heard him recite these verses, asked him if he knew to whom that house had belonged? He answered that he did not. “ ‘ Well,’ said the man, ‘ it belonged to the author of these verses—to the *Sharif* ‘ ar-Rida.’ The other was filled with astonishment at this singular coincidence.” This reminds me of an anecdote somewhat similar which is related by al-Hariri (*vol. II. p. 492*) in his *Durra tal-Ghawwds*. Abid Ibn Sharya al-Jurhani lived three hundred years (7); he attained the epoch of the promulgation of Islamism and became a convert to that faith. Having entered into the presence of Moawia Ibn Abi Sofyân, who was then in Syria and established in the khalifate, that prince said to him : “ Relate to me the strangest thing thou ever sawest.” Abid replied : “ I passed one day near some people who were committing to the tomb the body of a relative. Having gone up to them, my eyes overflowed with tears and I recited these verses of a poet as applicable to the spectacle which I there beheld :

“ O my heart! thou hast been seduced by (*the charms of*) Asmâ; reflect (*upon thy state*); but can admonition now be of avail? Thou hast revealed thy love; thou concealest it from none; nay, thy rapid (*tears*) flow unrestrained. Thou knewest not, neither dost thou know, whether the prompt fulfilment of thy wishes will be more favourable to thy welfare than their tardy accomplishment. Let God dispose for thy good, and be resigned to his will; in the depth of misfortune happiness may arrive. Whilst man yet enjoys the pleasures of existence, he is turned into dust, and the winds efface even the marks of his tomb. The stranger who knew him not then weepeth over him, whilst his relations in the tents of the tribe are rejoicing.

“ One of these people then asked me if I knew who was the author of these verses. I replied that I did not, on which he said : ‘ Him who first uttered them we have just buried; thou art the stranger who weepeth over him without knowing him, and that person who now cometh out from the tomb is his nearest relation and the man who most rejoiceth in his death.’ — “ Truly,” said Moawia, “ thou sawest a thing to wonder at; who was the dead man?” Abid answered : “ He bore the name of Ithyar Ibn Labid al-Ozri.” Let us return to the *Sharif*. The *Khatib* (*vol. I. p. 75*) says, in his History of Baghdad, that, being in the presence of Abû 'l-Husain Ibn Mahtûz, who held a high rank in the service of the empire, he heard the *katib* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah say that some literary men had declared, in his hearing, that the *Sharif* was the best poet ever produced by the tribe of Koraish. On this

Ibn Mahfûz said : " That is perfectly true ; some poets there were among them " who expressed themselves well, but their compositions were not numerous ; " none of them shone by the excellence and the quantity of his works but ar-Rida." The *Sharîf* ar-Rida was born at Baghdad, A. H. 359 (A. D. 969-70) ; he died there on Sunday morning the 6th of Muharram—some say, of Safar—A. H. 406 (June, A. D. 1015), and was interred at his residence situated in that part of the suburb of al-Karkh, which is called the street of the Anbarite Mosque (*khutt masjid il-Anbâriyîn*). The house in which he resided fell into ruin, and all traces of his tomb disappeared. When the burial was about to take place, his brother Abû 'l-Kâsim withdrew to the mausoleum of Mûsa Ibn Jaafar (8), feeling his inability to support the sight of the bier and the interment ; it was therefore the vizir Fakhr al-Mulk who recited the funeral prayer in the house of the deceased, before a large assembly.—His father at-Tâhir Zû 'l-Manâkib Abû Ahmad al-Husain was born A. H. 307 (A. D. 919-20) ; he died at Baghdad in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 400 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1009-10)—some say, 403—and he was interred in the funeral chapel of the Koraish cemetery, near the Fig Gate (*Bâb at-Tîn*). His son ar-Rida composed an elegy on his death, and Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p. 94*) deplored his loss in a *kasîda* which begins thus :

O that misfortune would cease to afflict us ! the flocks of the shepherd and the amber of the perfume-bearer have perished !

It is a long poem and displays the highest excellence.—We have already spoken of his brother the *Sharîf* al-Murtada Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali (*vol. II. p. 256*).—Pro-nounce عبيد *Abîd*.—*Jurhami* means *descended from Jurham*, the son of Kahtân and the progenitor of a large and celebrated Yemenite tribe.—*Ithyar*, in its primitive acceptation, means *dust*, but it has been employed as a proper name for men.—Of *al-Ozri* we have already spoken (*vol. I. p. 331*).

(1) This person must not be confounded with Ali ar-Rida, another member of the same family. See *vol. II. page 212*.

(2) His life is given by our author.

(3) See *Yatima*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1370, fol. 251.

(4) See *vol. II. page 453*, note (18).

(5) The manuscripts read عمر (*Omara*), but it appears from Abû 'l-Fedâ, year 406, and from the sequel, that عمرو (*Amran*), is the true reading.

(6) Literally : What is the sign of the *nash* in Amr? *Nash*, when employed as a technical term of grammar, means *the accusative case* ; but, as it bears also the signification of *disaffection*, the question may be understood in this manner : What was the mark of Amr's disaffection? It is here necessary to observe, for the understanding of what follows, that the adversaries of the khalif Ali were designated as the *Ahlan-Nash* (*the disaffected*) ; see *Kâmûs* and de Sacy's *Religion des Druzes*, page 62. One of the principal men of that faction was Amr Ibn al-Aâsi, who openly pronounced the deposition of Ali. See Abû 'l-Fedâ, year 37. It is to Amr Ibn al-Aâsi that the *Sharif's* answer applies.

(7) Arabic writers are singularly credulous respecting the longevity of certain Arabs who flourished towards the time of Muhammad. According to them, Labîd the poet lived one hundred and fifty years; Abîd al-Jurhami, three hundred; and Abîd al-Mash, three hundred and fifty; but they died prematurely, compared with the two celebrated diviners Shikk and Sath, who attained the advanced age of six hundred years.

(8) The life of Mûsa Ibn Jaafar al-Kâzim is given by Ibn Khallikân.

### IBN HANI THE POET.

Abû 'l-Kâsim, surnamed also Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Hânî, a member of the tribe of Azd, a native of Spain, and a celebrated poet, is said to have drawn his descent from Yazid Ibn Hâtîm Ibn Kabisa Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abî Sufra al-Azdi, or from Rûh Ibn Hâtîm (*vol. I. p. 529*), Yazid's brother. His father Hânî belonged to a village in the territory of al-Mahdiyya, a city in Ifrikiya, and displayed considerable talents as a poet and a philologer. Having passed into Spain, he there became the father of Muhammad, who was born at Seville and passed his early youth in that city. Muhammad Ibn Hânî acquired, in the course of his studies, an ample stock of literary information, and displayed a superior talent for poetry. He knew by heart a great number of poems composed by the Arabs of the desert and numerous facts relative to the history of that people. Having gained the favour of the prince who governed Seville, he plunged into dissipation and incurred the suspicion of holding the doctrines of the philosophers (*materialism*). This report acquired at length such consistence, that it drew on him the hatred of the people; they murmured also against his patron, whom they imagined to hold the same impious opinions. The prince recommended him to retire from the city and remain absent till his conduct was forgotten; and Ibn Hânî left the place, being



then twenty-seven years of age (1). His subsequent adventures would afford matter for a long narration, but we shall only state, in a summary manner, that he crossed over to Maghrib, where he met and celebrated the praises of the Kâid Jawhar (*vol. I. page 340*), *mawla* to al-Mansûr, and the same general who (*afterwards*) marched into Egypt and conquered that country for al-Moizz. He then went to visit Jaafar and Yahya, the sons of Ali (*vol. I. p. 326*), who were at that time governors of al-Masila, the capital of the province of az-Zâb. They treated him with the utmost honour and kindness, but his reputation having reached al-Moizz Abû Tamim Maadd al-Obaidi, the son of al-Mansûr, that prince, whose life we shall give under the letter *M*, sent for him, and received him, on his arrival, with the highest marks of favour. Al-Moizz having then set out for Egypt, as we shall relate in his life, Ibn Hânî accompanied him to some distance and then returned to Maghrib with the intention of taking his family and rejoining the prince. Having set out with them, he arrived at Barka, where he met a hospitable reception from one of the inhabitants, and passed some days with him in friendly intercourse. He there lost his life, in a drunken squabble it is said. But some persons relate that he went out of his host's dwelling in a state of intoxication, and, having fallen asleep on the road, he was found dead the next morning, but the cause of his death could not be ascertained. According to a third account, he was found strangled in the waistband of his trowsers in one of the gardens (2) of Barka. This event occurred on Wednesday morning, the 23rd of Rajab, A. H. 362 (April, A. D. 973). He had then attained his thirty-sixth year; some say, his forty-second. Such is the information furnished by the author of the History of Kairawân (3), but he gives us to understand that the poet was (*travelling*) with al-Moizz (*when he lost his life*), which is in contradiction with the statement which we have made, namely: that he accompanied al-Moizz to some distance and then returned to take his family. Al-Moizz had arrived in Egypt when he heard of Ibn Hânî's death. He expressed great grief at his loss and said: "We hoped to have placed "this man in competition with the poets of the East, but that pleasure was refused us." Ibn Hânî composed some brilliant and exquisite poems on al-Moizz. In one of them, which is the *kastîda* rhyming in *n*, he begins thus

Has Yibrin then become one of the valleys of Aâlij? or, rather, do the large-eyed gazelles (*maidens*) whom the camels bear along in covered litters belong to both these regions (5). To whom were we indebted for the nights which, from the time these (*maidens*) existed, never excited our complaints, although (*these fair ones*) were sources of affliction (*by their cruelty*); (*maidens*.) brilliant as stars, graceful as the (*pliant willow*-) branch, whose clear complexion (*spread radiance around*) even before the first smiles of the dawn; and yet they were dark with the musk (*blackness*) of the fringe which adorns handsome females (*the hair*). For them the coral ensanguined the surface of its cheek, and (*their teeth*) made the pearls weep (*with envy*) in their shell. My lamentations for their departure excited the mournful cry of the turtle-dove, and served as an accompaniment to its monotonous melody. They departed rapidly and, as they saw (*our grief*), sighs proceeded from their litters, and plaintive cries were uttered even by their camels. Their (*red*) tents seemed to have given a tint to the morning (6); or rather, (*the evil influence of jealous*) eyelids had cast a yellow hue over its cheek. Why should the robe of anemony (*the carnation complexion*) not reveal to sight the maidens who clothed therewith their cheeks? Now that they have departed, I let the meadows (*where they sported*) be parched with drought, and no copious tears of mine shall water (*the thirsty soil*). Shall I permit my eyes to borrow a stolen glance at the splendid aspect of their beauty, and thus deceive (*their modest royness*)? No! I should then be disloyal. (*For me*) the land is no longer a brilliant land, even though arrayed in flowers! (*For me*) the water of the spring is no longer pure! Let (*these fair ones*) not depart! the soil of this land is amber, its woods are the (*graceful*) willows, and the sun its humble slave. (*O for*) the days when the canvass (*tents*) displayed in that land their alternate stripes, and the fine tissues (*which formed our dress in times of peace*) were folded up and laid by—when the lances were couched, the swords glittering, and the steeds drawn up in ranks! (*I dwell with pleasure on*) the recollection of (*my beloved*) Lamyâ; her people were not jealous, neither did her cruelty last for ever. (*Hers* is the land which I regret, and yet it was a land of lances, and the coverts where its fawns took shelter were dens of lions. Can a sleek and rapid steed, well-girthed and mettlesome, bear me thither? (*My companion shall be*) a sword, the watered blade of which shows on its surface traces like the paths of the emmet, and which waits in ambush behind the point of my spear; its sharp edge is without a defect, and the souls (*of foes*) dwell upon its point (7); the moisture which bathes that steel is the heart's blood of enemies (8), and its sharp edge was not forged by (*human*) workmen. Before it descends, the victim seems already struck by the might of al-Moizz or by (*the terror of*) his cherished name.

In the same piece he gives the following description of horses :

And neighing (*steeds*), for whom, on the day of inroad, the hills were not hills, neither was the rugged ground rugged; they were recognised the instant they passed all rivals, not by the fact that the eye could have followed them in their career on the day of trial. All that the lightning knows of them is, that they were borne along on its wings, and that their speed was equal to that of thought. The copious rains may serve, (*O prince*) as an emblem of thy liberality; thy right hand seems to have touched the constellation which shed their humid influence upon the earth (9).

Were this high-sounding poem not so long, I should insert it all here; but the specimen we give may suffice to prove how highly the author ranked as a poet and to exhibit the peculiar beauty of his manner. His poetical works form a large volume, and were it not that he carries his eulogiums to an excess bordering on impiety, the *diwân* of his verses would be one of the finest which exists. The people of the western countries have never possessed his equal either in ancient or modern times; he is incontestibly their best poet, and they esteem him as much as the people of the East esteem al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p. 402*): both were contemporaries, but some difference of opinion subsists relative to the superiority of the latter to Abû Tammâm (*vol. I. p. 348*). To discover the date of Ibn Hânî's death, I never ceased consulting historical works and other sources where that information might be expected to be found; I questioned a great number of masters in this branch of science, but all my pains were useless, till, meeting with a little volume composed by Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Rashîk al-Kairawânî (*v. I. p. 384*), and entitled *Kurâda tad-Dahab*, I discovered in it what I sought. From another quarter I learned the age at which he died. I found in a notice composed on the life of Ibn Hânî by an author of talent and prefixed to the *diwân* of his poems, that he lived to the age here mentioned; but the date of his death is not given, the writer not having been able to meet with it. It is said that, when Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p. 94*) heard any of Ibn Hânî's verses recited, he used to say: "I can only compare that to a mill grinding horns;" alluding to the harshness of the poet's phraseology; he pretended also that, under these rugged terms no real meaning existed. This opinion I am obliged to declare unjust, but he was led into it by his partiality for al-Mutanabbi. To sum up in a word Ibn Hânî's merits, we cannot but pronounce him one of the good poets.

(1) This must have taken place in the year 347 or in 353. The prince Omayyide Abd ar-Rahmân an-Nâsir was at the former epoch sovereign of Spain and held his court at Cordova. It was probably his son al-Hakam al-Mustansir who then governed Seville and protected Ibn Hânî.

(2) The word *sawâni*, the plural of *sâniya*, means *irrigated gardens*. In its primitive acceptation, it designates the camels and wheels employed to draw up water from wells for agricultural purposes.

(3) In all probability, Ibn Rashîk (see *vol. I. p. 384*) is the historian alluded to.

(4) This piece, which is extremely obscure and very incorrectly given in all the copies, does not admit of a literal translation. I have given, however, all the ideas, and followed the text as closely as I could, but it was necessary to paraphrase most of the verses.

(5) Yabrin and Aðlij are the names of two places in Arabia. The meaning of the verse appears to be this :  
 "Has the territory of Yabrin been removed to the neighbourhood of Aðlij, so that the numerous gazelles  
 " (*nymphs*) of both regions have been collected together? Or rather, do not these gazelles of Maghrib come  
 " from Yabrin and Aðlij?"

(6) Red tents were used only by persons of the highest rank.

(7) In the original Arabic, this verse offers a curious example of the *tajnīs* or *jeu de mots*, a figure in which most Muslim poets take great delight.

(8) Literally : Its dampness is death.

(9) In the *Diwān* of Ibn Hāni, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin, this poem is preceded by the following short introduction : "It is said that this was the first *kasīda* which he recited at Kairawān, and that al-Moizz ordered him the present of a sofa (*dast*) valued at six thousand dinars, and the poet said : 'Com-mander of the faithful ! I have no place large enough to hold it, if it be spread out'. On this, the prince ordered a palace to be built for him at the expense of six thousand dinars and sent to it three thousand dinars' worth of furniture to match (*the beauty of*) the palace and the sofa." The *Diwān* of Ibn Hāni contains a great number of pieces, some of them highly beautiful ; unfortunately the copy in the *Bib. du Roi* has neither gloss nor comment.

### IBN AMMAR ZU 'L-WIZARATAIN.

Zu 'l-Wizaratain (1) Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ammār al-Mahri al-Andalusi as-Shilbi (*native of Silves in Spain*) was a celebrated poet, the rival of Ibn Zaidūn al-Kortubi (*vol. I. p. 123*), and nurtured, like him, in the practice of the varied styles of elegance in literary composition ; they were, in fact, the two great poets of that age. The princes of Spain dreaded Ibn Ammār for the acrimony of his tongue and his talent (*as a satirist*), and more particularly when al-Motamid alā 'llah Ibn Abbād, the sovereign of the west of Spain (2), his life will be found [*in this volume*] under the letter *M*,) took him into favour, adopted him for a companion, and raised him to the rank of vizir and privy counsellor. Al-Motamid then confided to him the seal of the empire and dispatched him as emir (*to lead his armies*). And yet the time had been when Ibn Ammār was a person of no importance ; but now he marched in pomp, followed by tents, steeds, led-horses, standards and squadrons, drums beating behind him, banners and colours flying over his head. Having taken possession of the city of Todmir (3), he became one of those who mount the pulpit and the throne (4), notwithstanding

ing his incapacity as a statesman and his inability as a ruler. He then rose against the sovereign who had every right to his gratitude, and hastened to disobey his orders and infringe his rights. But al-Motamid had recourse to stratagem and directed against him the arrows of wily artifice, till he deprived him of all means of escape and got him into his power. He then slew him, by night, in the palace, with his own hand, and ordered the corpse to be buried. This occurred at Seville in the year 477 (A. D. 1084-5). Ibn Ammâr was born A. H. 422 (A. D. 1031). His friend Abû Muhammad Abd al-Jalil Ibn Wahbûn al-Mursi (v. I. p. 108 n.) composed an elegy on his death, in which he said :

'Tis strange ! I shed floods of tears for his loss, and yet I must exclaim : May the right hand of him who slew him be never blasted !

Abû Nasr al-Fath Ibn Khâkân (vol. II. p. 455) says, in his *Kalâid al-Ikiyân* :  
 " Some years later, I saw the bones of Ibn Ammâr's legs taken out of an excavation which was making close to the palace ; the *bracelets* were still closed around them, having never been taken off or undone. O that they were still closely filled (5) ! The people looked on at this moral lesson, and the most incredulous then believed the history of his death." — By *bracelets* (*asâwir*) the writer means *fetters*. — One of Ibn Ammâr's most celebrated *kasidas* is that in which he says :

Pass round the glass ! the zephyrs are come, and the Pleiâdes rein in (*their steeds*) and cease their nocturnal journey. The morning has bestowed upon us its camphor (*brightness*), now that the night has taken from us its amber (*darkness*).

In the eulogistic part of that poem, he says of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd :

When princes crowd towards the fountain (*of glory*) and he approaches, they advance not to it until he has quenched his thirst and retired. (*His presence is*) more soothing to the heart than the dew-drop, and more grateful to the eyes than balmy sleep. It is he who striketh sparks from (*the steel of*) glory ; he never leaves the fire of war, but he lights the fire of hospitality.

It is a long and excellent poem (6). Another of his good pieces is that rhyming in *m*, and composed also in honour of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd. It begins thus :

If not for me, for whom do the clouds shed their tears ? If not for me, for whom do the doves utter their plaintive cry ?

He gives in it the following description of his native place :

May the rains clothe it in a mantle of youth, for there it was that youth delivered me from the amulets of childhood. (*Standing*) there, I recalled to mind the days of love, and that recollection awoke the flames of passion in my bosom. (*I thought of*) those nights when I heeded not the advice of reproving friends, and turned not away from the delusive path of the lover; when the eyes of slumbering maidens kept me in watchfulness, and their graceful figures kept me in torment. (*I thought of*) the night we passed at Suddatain, where the meandering river glided on like a serpent; (*when the breezes*) flitted to and fro, like envious tale-bearers passing between us. We passed the night, unseen by treacherous spies, in a spot as retired as that in which the secrets of the bosom lie concealed.

In the eulogistic part of the same poem he says :

—Princes at whose abodes glory took its station,—palaces, the dwellings of renown. Their noble house, founded by the sword, is supported by the spear. When terror arrests the step (*of the warriors*), these (*princes*) lead them on with long lances in the outstretched arm. Their hands scorn to return (*from combat*) without cutting off (*a prisoner's*) forelock or a foeman's head. (*Constant*) guests (*at the banquet*) of war, they pass the death-cup around, as their swords, with redoubled strokes, cleave the skulls. With them we see the lance-couched in support of honour, and the spear brandished in execution of noble designs.

In the same piece, he says (*of the prince*):

See him, when they take to horse, the first to strike the foe; behold him, when they dismount, the last to partake of food.

This is also a long and magnificent piece.—One of the crimes imputed to him by al-Motamid Ibn Abbād was his having composed two satirical lines on his father al-Motadid and himself. These lines, which we here give, were the principal cause of his death :

What makes me dislike conversing of Spain, is to hear of a Motadid's being there and a Motamid; two royal names out of their place (7); it reminds me of the cat which strives, by swelling, to attain the size of the lion.

His poetry abounds in beauties.—*Mahri* means *descended from Mahra* Ibn Haidān Ibn al-Hāf Ibn Kudāa, (*the progenitor of*) a great tribe from which many persons derive their surname. — *Shilbi* means *belonging to Shilb* (*Silves*), a maritime city in the Spanish peninsula.—*Todmir* is the same city as Murcia (8); al-Motamid Ibn Abbād sent Abū Bakr Ibn Ammār to Todmir as his lieutenant :

Ibn Ammâr revolted there, and al-Motamid never discontinued his efforts to circumvent him till he took him prisoner and put him to death, as we have already said. This event is so well known, that we need not enter into details. — The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni says, in his *Khariḍa*, when giving a notice on Ibn Ammâr and an account of his death: "One of the principal circumstances which conduced to his death was, his composing a satirical poem on 'ar-Ramikiya, the concubine by whom al-Motamid had his children; in one passage he says:

"You chose her from among the daughters of an ignoble stock, that Ramikiya, a woman who (*if slain*) would not be worth the price of her blood. She brought (*into the world*) a puny race, doubly vile by their paternal and maternal descent."

I must here observe that ar-Ramikiya, the concubine of al-Motamid, was purchased by him, in his father's lifetime, from (*one*) Ramik Ibn Hajjâj, and that she was surnamed after her former master. Al-Motamid displayed an extreme attachment to her and allowed her to acquire a great ascendancy over him. Her real name was Itimâd (*support*), and this induced him to assume the corresponding surname of *al-Motamid* (*the supported*). She died at Aghmât (*in Morocco*) subsequently to al-Motamid. After his death, she neither shed a tear nor uttered a sigh, but expired of grief. It was she who excited al-Motamid's anger against Ibn Ammâr, being incensed at the satire which that poet had directed against her. It is said, however, that he was not the author of the piece, but that his enemies passed it under his name with the intention of irritating al-Motamid's heart against him.

(1) *Zâ 'l-wizdratîn*, the regular title of the grand vizir under the first Spanish dynasties, signifies *holder of the two vizirships*, namely, that of the sword and that of the pen; this officer was generalissimo and secretary of state.

(2) The Abbadite dynasty, of which al-Motamid was the third sovereign, reigned at Seville.

(3) See note (8).

(4) That is, he pronounced the *khotba* from the pulpit as representative of the sovereign, and he sat on the throne as governor of the city.

(5) By this he expresses his wish to see Ibn Ammâr again among the living. A fether is closely filled when the prisoner is alive, and loosely filled when the flesh has mouldered away in the tomb.

(6) Ibn Khâkân gives it in the *Khaldid*.

(7) These names were first borne by Abbaside khaufs.

(8) The city and territory of *Todmîr* were so called after Theodomir, a Gothic general who encountered the Arabs on their first invasion. He continued his resistance for some time after the defeat and death of king Roderic, but finally made peace with Abd al-Azîz, the son of Mûsa Ibn Nasr, and obtained for himself a principality which included the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia, with a portion of New Castile.— (See *Continuation de l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, édition of 1821, tom. II. pages 301, 306 )

### ABU BAKR IBN AS-SAIGH IBN BAJJA (AVEMPACE).

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Bâjja at-Tujîbî al-Andalusî as-Sarakostî (*native of Saragossa in Spain*) and generally known by the appellation of Ibn as-Sâigh (*the son of the goldsmith*) the philosopher, was a poet of considerable celebrity. Al-Fath Ibn Khâkân (*vol. II. page 455*) mentions him in the *Kalâid al-Ikiyân* and represents him as an atheist and an infidel, professing the doctrines held by the (*ancient*) sages and philosophers. The same author says of him, in his *Matmah al-Anfus* (1): “He studied these doctrines (2) and directed his mind towards the “ dimensions of the spheres and the boundaries of the climates; he rejected the “ book of God the all-wise, and haughtily cast it behind his back (3); he wished “ to prove false that revelation which *falsehood never does nor can attain* (4), and “ applied himself exclusively to astronomy. He denied that we should return “ unto God, and he declared his belief in the governing influence of the stars; “ boldly insulting the majesty of the intelligent and all-knowing God, he “ hearkened with audacious indifference to his threats and prohibitions, laugh- “ ing to scorn these words of His: *He who hath placed thee under the rule of the “ Koran will surely bring thee back unto him* (5); he believed time to be a revo- “ lution (*of vicissitudes*), and considered man as a plant or a flower for which “ death was the ripening, and for which the snatching out (*of existence*) was the “ gathering of the fruit. Faith disappeared from his heart and left not a trace “ behind; his tongue forgot (*the praises of*) the Merciful, neither did (*the holy*) “ name cross his lips.” But I must say that Ibn Khâkân’s statement is exaggerated, and that he passes all bounds in accusing him of doctrines so perverse (6). God, however, knows best what his principles were. The same writer quotes the following amongst other pieces of Ibn as-Sâigh’s poetry :



Inhabitants of Nomân al-Arâk (7), know that in my bosom also you possess an abode! Continue to preserve (*for me*) your friendship; alas! how long have I suffered from the perfidy of men in whom I placed my trust. Ask the nights which I have passed, if slumber ever imbued my eyelids since you pitched your tents in a distant land! Ask your skies if ever the swords of their lightnings were drawn without their finding sheaths in my eyes (8).

When I was in Aleppo, a learned Maghribin *shaikh* recited to me these lines as having been composed by Ibn as-Sâigh, but, some time after, I met with them in the *diwân* containing the works of Abû 'l-Fityân Muḥammad Ibn Haiyûs, a poet whose life shall be given (*in this volume*). This led me to doubt the exactitude of the *shaikh's* statement, and I said (*to myself*) that he was probably mistaken, but I then found the same piece in (*Ibn Khâlikân's*) *Matmah*, where it is given as Ibn Sâigh's. God best knows by which of the two it was composed. The following piece is also by Ibn as-Sâigh:

(*The travellers*) encamped amidst the flowers of the meadow, where the fluttering zephyr breathed perfumes around. I sent my heart to accompany their heavy-laden camels, and, bleeding from its wounds, it followed in the path of the caravan. Why didst thou not ask their captivated (*lover*) if they had not among them a prisoner to be set free (*from the bonds of love*)? thou mightst have asked him, jealous (*though he was*). I swear by Him who formed their (*slight and*) graceful figures with the (*slender*) twig (*of the willow*), and their teeth with the (*white*) anemisi flowers, that, as the zephyr fleets by me since their departure, I never inhale it, but I breathe it forth an ardent flame

When his death drew near, he repeated these lines:

I said to my soul when death stood before it, and, impelled by terror, it fled to the right and to the left: "Stand and support the evil thou abhorrest; how long wert thou "accustomed to seek for death as a refuge (*against affliction*)?"

He died at Fez in the year 533 (A.D. 1138-9), from eating a poisoned *bâdin-jân* (9). By another account, his death is placed in 525. — *Bâjja* is the name of silver in the language of the western Franks (10). — *Tujibi*, pronounced also *Tujibi*, means *descended from Tujib*, the mother of Adi and Saad, the sons of Ashras Ibn Shabib Ibn as-Sukûn. She herself was the daughter of Thaubân Ibn Sulaim Ibn Madhidj, and her sons were surnamed after her. — *Sarakosti* means *belonging to Sarakosta (Saragossa)*, a city of Spain which produced a number of learned men. It was taken by the Franks in the month of Ramadân, A.H. 512 (January, A.D. 1119) (11).

(1) This passage is also to be found in the *Kalâid*.

(2) I suspect that the word *tadlîm*, here rendered by *doctrines*, means *the mathematics*.

(3) Koran, sûrat 3, verse 184.

(4) Koran, sûrat 41, verse 42.

(5) Koran, sûrat 28, verse 83.

(6) Through the diffuse and pretentious phraseology of Ibn Khâkân, in his *Kalâid*, we perceive that Ibn Bâjja was vizir to the emir Abû Bakr Ibn Ibrahîm (wall of Murcia), and that he removed to Valencia on perceiving the progress made by the Christians. He then proceeded to Saragossa, and, after the capture of that city by king Alphonso, he went to Setuba, where he was imprisoned by Abû Ishak Ibrahîm, the emir of that place, and returned to Islamism that he might save his life. It appears also that, during his vizirate, he had offended Imâd ad-Dawlat (*Abd al-Malik Ibn Ahmad*) Ibn Hûd, sovereign of Saragossa, and, at a later period, that prince was on the point of putting him to death. Ibn Khâkân informs us also that Ibn Bâjja was a skilful musician.

7. *Nomân al-Ârak* (*Nomân of the acacia trees*) is the name of a valley near Mekka. It is frequently mentioned by the Arabic poets, because the manners of its inhabitants presented a perfect image of pastoral life.

(8) The poet's meaning is, that he kept his eyes always turned in the direction of their abodes. He plays also upon the words *jufûn* (*sheaths of the eye, eyelids*) and *ajfân* (*scabbards*).

(9) The *badinjân* is the egg-plant, or *solanum melongena* of Linnaeus.

(10) I know of no European word bearing a resemblance to *bâjja* and signifying *silver*, except the Italian *baiocco*, the coin so called; the word *pajola* existed in the old Italian, but, according to the cardinal Zurla in a treatise cited by the viscount de Santarem, in his *Recherches sur la découverte des pays situés sur la côte occidentale de l'Afrique*, it signifies gold.

(11) It was taken by Alphonso I., king of Arragon. M. de Gayangos has given a translation of Ibn Abi Osaihiya's life of Ibn Bâjja in the appendix to the first volume of his *Muhammedan Dynasties in Spain*.

## IBN AR-RAFFA AR-RUSAFI.

'Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ghâlib ar-Raffâ al-Andalusi ar-Rusâfi (*a native of ar-Rusâfa in Spain*) and, a well-known poet, is the author of some charming verses in which he displays a singular subtilty of thought. His poems are widely circulated throughout all (*Moslim*) countries. One of his most celebrated pieces is that composed on a young *gi* :<sup>1</sup> who followed the trade of weaving :

(*My friends*) made me long reproaches for loving her, and they said : " Wert thou enamoured with any but a vile and worthless creature (*we should excuse you*). " I replied : " Had I power to control my passion, I should hearken to (*your advice*), but I have not that power. I love her for her pearly teeth, the perfume of her mouth, the "sweetness of her lips, the magic of her eyes; (*I love*) that gazelle (*ghozail*) in whose

"fingers the thread (*ghazl*) ever revolves, like the mind (*of the poet*) when composing sonnets (*ghazal*) on his mistress. Gaily her hand plies the shuttle across the warp, playing it as fortune plays with the hopes of man; pulling with her hand, striking with her foot, she seems like the deer entangled in the toils of the hunter."

Another exquisite piece of his is that which he composed on a young girl, who pretended to weep and moistened her eyes with saliva :

Let me be excused for loving that wanton (*maid*) who weeps (*as if*) in sadness and yet whose bosom is free from the (*sorrow*) she affects. She moistens her eyes with saliva to imitate tears, though she smiles like the (*opening*) flower. She would make us think that moisture to be the drops of her eyelids; but when was wine (*saliva*) extracted from the narcissus (*the eye*) (1) ?

In another piece he says :

A maid who resembled the willow-branch by her slender waist, (but not by her aspect, for that troubled every heart,) was sleeping during the noon-tide heats, her cheek crowned with perspiration; and I said: "Behold the rose moist with its own sap."

This poet died at Malaga in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 572 (March, A. D. 1177).—*Rusâfi* means *belonging to ar-Rusâfa*, a small town in Spain, near Valencia. There is another village of the same name near Cordova; this one was built by Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Moawia Ibn Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, the first Omayyide sovereign of Spain; he was called *ad-Dâkhil* (*the enterer, the new comer*); because he *entered* into Spain on leaving Syria, whence he had fled through fear of the Abbaside (*khalif*), Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr. His adventures are well known. On entering Spain, he obtained possession of the country and was proclaimed sovereign at Cordova on the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 138 (May, A. D. 756), at the age of twenty-five years. He built this place and named it after the celebrated village in Syria, founded by his grandfather Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik. Such are Yâkût al-Hamawi's words, in his *Mushtarik* (2); he indicates nine places bearing this name, but these I abstain from mentioning, to avoid lengthening the present article. He does not, however, notice the Rusâfa of Valencia; that would have made up ten places of the name.

(1) See Introduction to vol. I. page xxxvi.

(2) The life of this geographer is given by Ibn Khallikân.

## IBN ZUHR (AVENZOAR) THE PHYSICIAN.

Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Iyâdi, the son of Abû Marwân Abd al-Malik, the son of Abû 'l-Alâ Zuhr, the son of Abû Marwân Abd al-Malik, the son of Abû Bakr Muhammad, the son of Marwân, the son of Zuhr, a native of Seville in Spain, belonged to a family of which all the members were (*either*) men of learning (*in the law*), chiefs (*in the civil administration*), physicians, or vizirs (1); they obtained the first offices in the state, they enjoyed the favour of sovereigns and exercised great authority. The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Khattâb Ibn Dihya (v. II. p. 384) says, in his work entitled *al-Mutrib min Ashâd Ahl il-Maghrib* (*the charming [portion] of the poems composed by people of the West*): "Our *shâikh* Abû Bakr," meaning Ibn Zuhr, "occupied a firm station in philology, and his knowledge of medicine was drawn from the purest sources; he knew by heart the poems of Zû 'r-Rumma (v. II. p. 447), (and they form the third part of the language spoken by the desert Arabs,) to which he joined a full acquaintance with all the doctrines held by the physicians; he enjoyed high favour under the sovereigns of the West; his family was ancient, his wealth great, and his possessions ample. I frequented his society during a long period, and derived from him a copious share of literary information."—He then gives the following verses as Ibn Zuhr's :

Whilst my friends lay reclining, their cheek pillowed on the arm, a hostile inroad of the dawn took us by surprise. I had passed the night in filling up their cups and drinking what they left; till inebriation overcame me, and my lot was also theirs. The wine well knows how to avenge a wrong; I turned the goblet up, and that liquor turned me down.

After quoting this passage, he adds: "I asked him the year of his birth, and he replied, in 507 (A.D. 1113-4); towards the close of A.H. 595 (October, A.D. 1199) I received news of his death."—In these verses, Ibn Zuhr comes near the idea expressed by the *radis* Abû Ghâlib Obaid Allah Ibn Hibat Allah al-Asbâghî (2) in the following lines :

I filled them out cool draughts of a liquor which, were it mild, had never been named *ukâr* (3). It called to mind the wrongs it suffered of old when it lay prostrate (*in the*

*vintage-vat*) and the pressers trod it under foot. It then yielded to them, but when they drank to intoxication, it got them in its power and cried: "Now is the time for 'vengeance!'"

It is said that he is the author of the following lines on one of the most esteemed and voluminous works studied by physicians, namely, Galen's *Hila tal-Baré* (4):

The *Hila tal-Baré* was composed to keep the sick in hopes of life or to divert their fears; but, when death comes, it says: the *Hila tal-Baré* is not a *means of cure* (5).

In one of his poems, Ibn Zuhri expresses the ardent desire which he felt for the sight of his child (*from whom he happened to be separated*); in this piece he says:

I have a little one, a tender nestling (6), with whom I have left my heart. I dwell far from him; how desolate I feel in the absence of that little person and that little face. He longs for me, and I long for him; for me he weeps, and I weep for him. (*Our*) affectionate wishes are weary of passing from him to me, from me to him.

When his hair turned grey with age, he composed these lines:

I looked into the polished mirror and my eyes know not the object they beheld. I saw a little old man whom I did not recognise, although I had formerly seen him a youth. "Where," I exclaimed, "is the person who was here yesterday? when, when did he depart?" The mirror smiled and answered with surprise: "He is here, but thy eyes recognise him not. The fair Sulaima used to call thee *brother*, but now she calls "thee *papa*."

This last verse is a reminiscence of the idea expressed by the celebrated poet al-Akhtal (7) in the following lines:

When the girls call thee *uncle*, that title only serves to increase thy vexation, but when they call thee *dear brother*, it indicates a feeling nearer to love and attachment.

On his death-bed, he gave directions that these lines should be inscribed upon his tomb; they contain an allusion to his medical occupations:

Stand and reflect! behold the place to which we are all impelled. The earth of the tomb covers my cheek, as if I had never trod upon its surface. I treated people to save them from death, yet here I am, brought to it myself.

I received these verses from the lips of some learned men who attributed them to Ibn Zuhr, but God best knows whether they are genuine or not; we have nothing in support of their authenticity but the word of those who transmitted them. Ibn Dihya speaks of him in these terms: "And a species of composition for which our master was specially distinguished and wherein his imagination swayed his genius, so that persons of the highest talent became his humble followers, was that of *muwashshahât* (8), compositions which are the cream, the quintessence, the substance, the pure extract of poetry, and an art, by the invention of which the people of the West surpassed those of the East, and wherein they shone like the rising sun and the brightness which illuminates." He then gives a *muwashshah* of the poet's which is very fine. Speaking of Abû 'l-Alâ Zuhr, Ibn Zuhr's grandfather, the same writer says: "He was the vizir of that epoch and its grandee, the philosopher of that age and its physician. He died at Cordova, A. H. 525 (A. D. 1130-1), from the sufferings caused by an ulcer (9) which broke out between his shoulders." — Of his great-grandfather, Abd al-Malik, he says: "He travelled to the East, where he long practised as a physician and became head of the faculty in Baghdad; he then removed to Egypt and afterwards to Kairawân. At a later period, he took up his residence at Denia, whence his reputation spread over all the regions of Spain and Maghrib. His pre-eminence in the art of medicine was so conspicuously displayed that he outshone all his contemporaries. He died at Denia." Of Muhammad Ibn Marwân, the grandfather of Ibn Zuhr's grandfather, Ibn Dihya writes as follows: "He was learned in speculation (10), a *hâfiz* in literature (11) and a juriconsult singularly acute in his *fatwas* (*opinions*); he held a high rank in the general council (*of his native place*) (12), he was versed in various sciences, remarkable for his handsome mien and talents, a transmitter of traditional literature, and, moreover, a man of extensive information. He died at Talabîra (*Talavera*), A. H. 422 (A. D. 1031), aged eighty-six years. A great number of learned Spaniards delivered traditional information on his authority, and they spoke highly of his piety, merit, generosity, and beneficence. — We have already explained the words *Iyâdi* (*vol. I. p. 72*) and *Talabîra*; this dispenses us from repeating our observations here. — *Zuhr* is to be pronounced with an *u* after the *z*, then an *h*, without a vowel, followed by an *r*. — The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn says, in his *Kharîda*, that the following lines were

composed on a member of this family, called Abū Zaid Ibn Zuhr, by Abū 't-Taiyib Ibn al-Bazzār :

Tell the plague and Ibn Zuhr that they have passed all bounds in working deeds of woe. Say to them: Spare mankind a little! one of you is quite enough.

I have since found these verses attributed to Abū Bakr Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Abyad, a person who is stated to have died in the year 544 (A. D. 1149-50) (13).

(1) Here is a manifest proof that none of the Avenzoars were Jews. Their names alone would suffice to show that they were Muslims.

(2) Abū Ghālib al-Ashāghī, surnamed Tāj ar-Ruwāsā (*crown of the rāises*, most probably because he held under the empire the highest rank as a *rāis*, or chief in the civil administration,) was deputy-intendant of the palace (نائب عن ديوان الزمام) in the reign of the khalif al-Muktadi. Under the reign of al-Mustazhir, he acted for a time as secretary of state. He composed a work as a guide for secretaries (علم الكتابة), and the *kātibs* of Irak drew up the public accounts after the system introduced by him يكتبون الحساب على طريقته. He embraced Islamism in the month of Safar, A. H. 484 (March-April, A. D. 1091), one day before the conversion of Ibn al-Mūsālāyā (see vol. II. p. 415), in consequence of an edict emanating from the court of the khalif (التوقيع الشريف) by which the *zimmi*s, that is, the Christians, Jews, and Sabeans, were obliged to wear certain marks by which they might be distinguished from the Muslims.—(*Kharīda*, MS No. 1447, fol. 7.)—This Abū Ghālib was probably the son of the Hibat Allah mentioned in the life of Ibn al-Mūsālāyā.

(3) The word عقار, if pronounced *ukār*, signifies *wine*, and if *ikār*, *altercation*. The poet alludes to this double signification.

(4) *Hila tal-Baré* (*the means of cure*) is the title given to the Arabic translation of Galen's work *de methodo medendi* (Σερχωνιου μεθόδος).

(5) The last verse may also be translated thus: But when death comes, the *Hila tal-Baré* says: "There is no means of cure."

(6) Literally: Like a *young kata*. The *kata* is a species of grouse.

(7) The life of al-Akhtal, an anteislamic poet, has been given by M. Caussin de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1834.

(8) See Introduction to vol. I. p. xxxv.

(9) The word *naghta* (نغلة) means a mortification, or ulcer.

(10) *Speculation*, in Arabic *rāi*. He perhaps means Hanafite jurisprudence. See vol. I. pages xxvi, 334.

(11) That is, he knew by heart a great number of literary pieces preserved by tradition.

(12) In Spain and North Africa, every city possessed a committee or counsel (*shāra*), instituted to assist the governor in his administration. The *shāra* was composed of the chiefs of the different trades, the *kādi* and the heads of the old and influential families who resided in or near the place. It frequently happened that the *shāras*, like the Spanish *juntas*, took the supreme authority into their own hands; but their intervention, in such cases, was always temporary.

(13) In the appendix to the *Muhammedan Dynasties in Spain*, by M. de Gayangos, will be found a translation of lives of Abd al-Malik Ibn Zuhr and Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Zuhr, from the Arabic of Ibn Abû Osaihiya.

## IBN HAIYUS.

Abû 'l-Fityân Muhâmmad Ibn Sultân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Haiyûs Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Murtada Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Haitham Ibn Othmân al Ghanawi (1), surnamed Mustafa 'd-Dawlat (*the chosen of the empire*), and styled al-Amir (*the emir*) because his father was emir over the Arabs of the desert, ranks among the ablest poets of Syria. The collection of his poetical works forms a large *divân*. He met a number of princes and great men by whom he was amply rewarded for the poems which he composed in their praise, but he attached himself more particularly to the Banû Mirdâs, a family which then reigned at Aleppo. Al-Jauhari says, in (*his lexicon*) the *Sahâh*, under the root *r d s*; "*mirdâs* signifies "a stone which is thrown into a well for the purpose of discovering if there "be water in it or not. It is used also as a proper name for men." Ibn Haiyûs composed in their honour some beautiful *kastâs*, and his adventure with Jalâl ad-Dawlat Samsâm ad-Dawlat (2) Abû 'l-Muzaffar Nasr Ibn Mahmûd Ibn Shibl ad-Dawlat Nasr Ibn Sâlih Ibn Mirdâs al-Kilâbi, the sovereign of Aleppo, is well known. The circumstances of it were these: Having celebrated the praises of Mahmûd Ibn Nasr, that prince rewarded him with the gift of one thousand dinars. On the death of Mahmûd, he went to his son and successor (*Jalâl ad-Dawlat*) Nasr and recited to him his poem rhyming in *r*, in which he extolled the qualities of the young prince and condoled with him on the loss of his father. It began thus:

The rank which fortune has bestowed upon thee is a sufficient glory for religion: those who (*like me*) have made a vow for thy accession) must now engage in its fulfilment.

In one passage of it, he says:

(In eight (*qualities*) are combined, which never were nor never will be separated as long as the eyelash protects the eye: firm belief and piety, beneficence and wealth, eloquence and depth of thought, resolution and success.



Alluding to Nasr's accession on the death of his father, he says :

We bore with patience the sentence pronounced by tyrant time, but, without thee, patience had not existed. (*Time*) overwhelmed us with a misfortune which surpassed (*our deepest feelings of*) affliction, and was equalled only by those favours (*of his*) for which (*our utmost*) gratitude was insufficient.

In another passage, he says :

I left thee through constraint, not through self-mortification; I went to find thee, when evil fortune overtook me, and (*with thee*) I found a secure shelter to which no obstacle debarred access, and a door of glory to which no curtain impeded our approach. Long did I dwell in the bondage of thy beneficence; thy noble acts ceased not, neither did my bondage cease. Thus the Lord of the heavens fulfilled his generous promise, that adversity should be followed by prosperity. The son of Nasr bestowed upon me one thousand pieces taken from the stock (*of his treasures*), and I well know that his son Nasr will repeat the gift. I was told to expect as much; and why should I not, since command and prohibition depend upon thy will? I need not press and insist; the merchandize is known and the price is fixed. I have pitched near thee the tent of my hopes, and how many are the mortals who sojourn whilst their hopes range through the world! In thy hands is the object for which I express my wishes in polished phrase; the least of thy favours would enslave even a freeman's heart.

When he had finished the recitation of this piece, the emir Nasr exclaimed : " By Allah! had he said, *Nasr will redouble the gift*, in place of *Nasr will repeat the gift*, I should have done so." He then bestowed on him one thousand dinars in a silver tray.—A number of poets had assembled at the court of the emir Nasr and celebrated his praises, but the recompense which they expected did not appear. They therefore proceeded to the house of Baulos (*Paul*) the Christian, where the emir used to drop in occasionally and make up a social party. Amongst these poets was Abū 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn ad-Duwaida al-Maarri (*native of Maarra tan-Nomân* (3), and, having written on a sheet of paper the following verses, in the composition of which they all had a share, they sent them in to the emir. (Some say, however, that the lines here spoken of were composed by Ibn ad-Duwaida :)

At your well-guarded door is a band of the indigent; turn your attention towards the state of the indigent. The whole troop would be satisfied with the tenth of what you gave to Ibn Haiyās. Our talents do not differ from his in that proportion (4); but the lucky man cannot be placed in comparison with him who is unlucky.

When the emir Nasr read these verses, he ordered them one hundred dinars,

declaring at the same time that, if they had said, *with as much as you gave to Ibn Haiyûs*, he would have given it to them. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn quotes these verses in the *Kharîda* and ascribes them to Abû Sâlim Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ad-Duwaida, the son of the poet named above, and who was generally known by the surname of al-Kâf; God knows best! — The emir Nasr, a prince distinguished for his generosity and liberality, became sovereign of Aleppo, in A. H. 467 (A. D. 1074-5), on the death of his father Mahmûd. He had not been long on the throne when some of his own troops attacked and slew him on the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 468 (May, A. D. 1076). We have already spoken of his great-grandfather Sâlih Ibn Mirdas (*v. l. p. 631*). — Ibn Haiyûs arrived at Aleppo in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 464 (June-July, A. D. 1072), and the house in which he there resided is now known as the House of the emir Alam ad-dîn Sulaimân Ibn Haidara. One of Ibn Haiyûs's finest pieces is the *kasîda* rhyming in *l* (*lâmiya*), wherein he praises Abû 'l-Faḍâl Sâbik Ibn Mahmûd, the brother of the emir Nasr. In the eulogistic portion of that poem he says :

Whenever I was asked about you, I replied, (my object always being, to direct him who goes astray) : " If you wish to know them well, meet them in the midst of their beneficence, or on the day of battle; you will find them white (*brilliant*) in honour, black with the dust of the combat, their shoulders green (*stained with the friction of their armour*), and red the points of their spears."

How beautiful this enumeration ! it seems to have occurred to him quite naturally and bears some resemblance to a passage in a magnificent *kasîda* composed by the celebrated poet Abû Saïd Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan ar-Rûstami (*vol. I. p. 217*), and containing the eulogium of the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p. 242*). The verses to which we allude are these :

A band illustrious in peace and war, a family crowned with noble deeds and formed to wield the spear. When they encamp, the soil turns green (*receives fresh verdure*); when they encounter the foe, their spear- turn red.

There, by Allah ! is poetry in all its purity, unmixed with superfluous words. — Ibn Haiyûs acquired great wealth by the favour of the Mirdâs family, and he built a house at Aleppo, on the door of which he inscribed the following lines :

We built this abode and in it we resided, enjoying the bounty of the Mirdasides, a family which delivered me from adversity and the tyranny of fortune. Say to the sons of earth: "Let men act thus towards their fellow-men."

— Some persons ascribe these verses to the grand emir (*al-Amîr al-Jalîl*) Abû 'l-Fath al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr, a native of Aleppo and generally known by the name of Ibn Abi Hasina. In this, they are quite right.—A splendid and well-known *kasîda* of Ibn Haiyus's is that which commences thus :

Here was the vernal abode of the fair Malikian maid ; let us halt and ask of the summer rains where lay the dwelling of which they have effaced the trace. Invoke the flashing clouds to water the neglected vestiges of her tribe's presence, in these their reserved grounds, and excuse the insufficiency of my tears, now exhausted (*in weeping*) before one (*a mistress*) who, though near, repelled me, and after one (*a friend*) who resolutely journeyed to a distant land. If travellers speak of me, they tell of eyes that are in tears and of a heart in pain. Restore to us the days (*we passed in loving converse*) at the sand-hill, days which we may hope for whenever we dare hope that thou (*dearmaid!*) mayest grant us thy affection. Hadst thou known even the slightest of my sufferings, thou hadst restored to us the possession of thyself, that utmost object of our wishes. Nay, did the external aspect of my passion offer thee sufficient proof of the ardent flame concealed within my bosom, thou hadst relented after thy reproaches, loved after thy hatred, and granted after thy refusal. Were I just to myself, I should save my heart from (*the pain of*) becoming like him who seeketh and findeth not.

This poem contains the following passage :

I invoked the favours of the generous, but succeeded not; yet now, I return thanks for favours granted yet unasked. Strange it is, yet wonders are not rare, that speedy favours should find but tardy gratitude.

In one of his pieces he says :

Stop in the midst of thy hatred and let thy reproaches go no farther; be not like him who, when raised to power, plays the tyrant. I see you justify the falsest love, whilst near thee true love meets its death. If you followed justice in your decisions, why do you not follow the ancient path (*of love*)? In former times, men bent the bow to gain a livelihood, and that spear of mine (*my stature now bent*) was once straight and erect. The greyness which approached my locks has wronged me not, if it permit that my lot be still (*a mistress with*) bright teeth and rosy lips (5). There was a closely-guarded maiden of rare beauty and seldom rivalled, chaste and fair as a statue; for her I burned with a passion which no reproach of mine could control, and respecting whom I questioned the ruined dwellings in the desert, but they returned no reply. Ask what are the feelings of her lover; his tears will give thee the surest information! but ask not whither roams his heart. For a time, it enabled me to endure my pains with patience, but it departed from me on the day in which the tribe of my beloved de-

parted from the plain in which they fed their flocks. (*That was*) a departure which deprived me of consolation; and ever since, my patience journeyed towards the province of Najd, whilst I myself advanced into that of Tihama (6). (*Therein was*) a torture of separation, dreadful as the strokes of MĀlik (*the angel who guards hell*), but under which, to my disgrace, I did not perish. O my two friends! if you help me not to consolation, you are no longer mine and I am no longer yours. You counselled me to be indifferent and to forget (*her*), but you mentioned not the way to indifference and forgetfulness. *May the (spot where I passed my) days of love be watered by gushing clouds, rising in the horizon each time the rain clears off. (And yet we enjoyed) a life of which we stole the pleasures in despite of the jealous spy who, fatigued with waking, sunk the head to slumber.*

The poem from which this passage is taken is of a considerable length. The *hāfiẓ* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p. 252*) states, in his History of Damascus, that, in the year 507 (A.D. 1113-4), the following observation was repeated to him by Abū 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Ibrahim al-Alawi: "The emir Abū 'l-Fityân Ibn Haiyûs took me by the hand when we were at Aleppo and said: 'You may give this verse ' ' on my authority as having been composed by Sharaf ad-Dawlat Muslim Ibn ' ' Kuraish (7):

" ' Thou art he for whom eulogium is always ready (8), and whose veins flowed with ' ' generosity before they flowed with blood! ' "

This verse is the acme of eulogium. In the life of Abū Bakr Ibn as-Sâigh *vol. III. p. 133*) we have given some verses rhyming in *n*, and mentioned that they are attributed to him, but they exist also in the collected poetical works of Ibn Haiyûs: God best knows the truth in this matter.—In the year 472 (A.D. 1079-80), the poet Abū Abd Allah Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Khaiyât (*vol. I. p. 128*) arrived at Aleppo and wrote the following lines to Abū 'l-Fityân (*Ibn Haiyûs*) who was then in that city:

All I possess would not sell for a dirhem, and from my looks you may judge of my state. But I have still some honour left; that I never offered for sale, and where, would I have found a purchaser (9)?

On this it was observed that, had he said, *and thou art surely the purchaser*, it had been better. Ibn Haiyûs was born at Damascus on Saturday, the 29th of Safar, A.H. 394 (December, A.D. 1003), and he died at Aleppo in the month of Shaabân, A.H. 473 (Jan.-Feb. A.D. 1080-1). He was the *shaikh* (*preceptor*) of the Ibn al-Khaiyât just mentioned.—The name حبيب must be pronounced

*Haïyûs*; among the poets of the West is an Ibn Habbûs (حبوس) whose name is nearly similar, except that, instead of an *h* (ح), it is written with a *b* (ب). I mention this, because these names have been often confounded, and I have frequently met with persons who supposed that the western poet's name was Ibn Haiyûs also, which is a mistake.

(1) *Ghanawi* signifies descended from *Ghani* Ibn Aasur, the progenitor of a family which formed a branch of the Kais Ghailân Arabs.

(2) This double title signifies: *magnificence and sword of the empire*. In Ibn al-Adîm's History of Aleppo, the title of Nasr Ibn Mahmûd is not given.

(3) Imâd ad-dîn quotes a few extracts from the poems composed by different members of the Duwaida family, but furnishes no information respecting them.—(See *Kharida*, MS. 1414, fol. 129.)

(4) Literally: All that difference does not subsist between us.

(5) I suspect that the text of this verse is corrupted, but not having the means of rectifying it with certainty, I adopt the reading of my manuscripts, which is this, وما ظلم الشيب الملم بلمتى وان يرنى . . . حظى من الظلم والمبى . In the translation, I have endeavoured to render the idea expressed by these words.

(6) That is: My patience went one way and I went another. The expressions منجد and متهم frequently occur in poetry.

(7) Abû 'l-Mukârim Muslim, the son of Koraish, the son of Badrân, the son of al-Mukallad, the son of al-Musaiyab, hereditary chief of the Okail Arabs, lord of Mosul, Nasibîn, Anbâr, Takrît, and other cities, had established his authority over the greater part of Syria, when he fell A. H. 478 (A. D. 1085) in combating the troops of Sulaimân Ibn Kutulmish the Seljûkide. See Abû 'l-Feddâ's *Annals*, years 433, 438, 472, 477.—The *ktâb* Imâd ad-dîn says, in his *Kharida*, that Abû 'l-Makârim Muslim Ibn Kuraish Ibn (*Akhi*) Kirwâsh, king of Syria, styled Sharaf ad-Dawlat (*nobleness of the empire*). Majd ad-dîn (*glory of religion*), the sultan of emirs and the sword of the commander of the faithful, was extremely generous and that he granted the city of Mosul in fief to Ibn Haiyûs as a recompense for the eulogiums which that poet had bestowed upon him in his poems. Ibn Haiyûs survived this favour only six months. Sharaf ad-Dawlat himself displayed great talents as a poet.—(MS. No. 1414, fol. 129.)

(8) Literally: In whose market eulogium stations.

(9) See vol. I. page 130, note (2).

## AL-ABIWARDI THE POET.

Abû 'l-Muzaffar Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Ishak Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs al-imâm Muhammad Ibn Abi

'l-Fityân Ishak Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abi Marfûa Mansûr Ibn Moawia al-Asghar (1) Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs Othmân Ibn Anbasa al-Asghar Ibn Otha Ibn al-Ashraf Ibn Othmân Ibn Anbasa (2) Ibn Abi Sofyân Ibn Sakhr Ibn Harb Ibn Omaiya Ibn Abd Shams Ibn Abd Manâf, a member of the Omaiyide family and of the tribe of Kuraish, a descendant of Moawia (*the less* [al-Moâwi]) and a native of Abiward (*al-Abtwardi*), was a poet of great celebrity, an accomplished scholar, a transmitter of traditional information and a genealogist. The collected works of this elegant poet are classed under various heads, such as the *Irâkiyât* (pieces relative to Irâk), the *Najdiyyât* (pieces relative to Najd, pastoral pieces), the *Wajdiyyât* (amatory pieces), etc. His learning as a genealogist was very extensive, and his authority is cited by the most exact and the most trustworthy *hâfizs*. The *hâfiz* Abû Fadl Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi quotes his words more than once in his *Ansâb* (vol. III. p. 6). In that work, he says of him, under the article AL-MOAWI: "He was the paragon of the age in various sciences, and we have quoted, in different parts of this book, a number of observations made by him. He wrote himself down as a descendant of Moawia (المعالي), and this verse of Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri might be applied to him with the utmost propriety:

"Though I came the last in time, I am able to produce what the ancients could not furnish."

Al-Makdisi quotes also some verses in which the poet vaunts his own renown, but these it is not necessary to insert. Abû Zakariyâ Ibn Manda (3) mentions him in the history of Ispahân and says: "He was an honour to the *raïses*, the most excellent of the empire (4), orthodox in his belief, exemplary in his conduct, and versed in a number of sciences; well acquainted with the genealogies of the Arabs, elegant in his language, skilled in the composition of books, filled with intelligence, perfect in talents, the pearl of the epoch, the paragon of the age, but elated with vanity, pride, and arrogance: when he prayed, he used to say: 'Almighty God! make me king over the eastern countries of the earth and the western thereof.'" The *hâfiz* Ibn as-Samâni (vol. II. p. 156) takes notice of him in the *Ansâb*, under the word *al-Moawî*, and mentions him also in the *Zail* (supplement); he says: " (*Al-Abtwardi*) was sur-named after Moawia al-Asghar (*the less*)"—the same whose name is given in

the genealogical list (*at the head of this notice*).—"He once addressed a memorial "to the Commander of the faithful, al-Mustazhir billah, and headed it with "these words: *al-Khâdim al-Moâwi* (*your humble servant, the descendant of Mou-wia*). The khalif, who disliked the use of a patronymic which indicated that "the bearer of it drew his descent from Omaiya, scratched out the *m* (م) of *al-Moâwi* (الموآوى) and sent back the memorial with the superscription changed "into *al-Khâdim al-Adwi* (*your humble servant, the howler*)."<sup>7</sup> As specimens of the beauties with which his poetry abounds, we may indicate the following passages :

We ruled over the kingdoms of the earth, and to us their grândees submitted, some willingly, some through constraint (5). But, when the days of our prosperity attained their height, adversity seized us and seldom relaxed its hold. In our days of joy, (*these kingdoms*) smiled with pleasure at our happiness, but soon they wept with sympathy at our afflictions. We met our misfortunes with faces of ingenuous dignity, radiant with honour (6), and, when we thought of disclosing the wrongs which fortune made us suffer, our modesty withheld us.

Fortune treated me severely, but she knew not that I was proud of soul and that I despised the strokes of adversity; whilst it showed me how calamities could assault (*their victim*), I let her see what patience was.

That maiden with the slender waist! I hearken not to him who blames me for loving her, and, when he depreciates her, I only love her the more. When she appears, I turn one eye towards her, and, with the other, I watch her jealous guardian. The de-lator is thus deceived, and knows not that my eye has got its full share of (*the sight of the fair*) Sulaima.

He composed the following lines on Abû 'n-Najîb Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr al-Marâghi, a person who, by his talents, was one of the most eminent men of the time. This Abû 'n-Najîb resided in the fortress of Ilira (7) and often employed, in his poetical compositions, the figure called *luzûm ma la yalzûm* (*the submitting to unnecessary obligations*) (8):

The verses of al-Marâghi, may God preserve you from them (9)! are like his mind, the best parts of them are bad. In composing, he submits to unnecessary obligations, but he neglects those which are necessary.

It was al-Abîwardi who composed the following piece :

O beloved Omaima! if thou refusest me thy visits, grant that thy image come at night and visit me in my dreams. By Allah! neither calumny (10) nor absence can efface from the soul of thy adorer the impress of thy love.

I may here observe that *Sibt Ibn at-Taâwizi*, a poet of whom notice shall be taken in this work, borrowed from the first of these verses the thought which he has thus expressed in one of his *kasidas*:

If thou refusest, when awake, to grant me a salutation, order thy image to fleet by me and salute me in my slumbers. Promise to visit me in my dreams; then, perhaps, my eyes may yield to sleep, in the hopes of seeing thee.

In one of his *Najdiyyât* he says:

We halted at *Nomân al-Arâk* (11); the dew-drops moistened our garments, and I passed the night suffering the pains of love whilst my fellow-travellers were sunk in sleep; the fatigues of the night-journey and of the desert had overcome us all. I thought of that charming maiden now so far away; and my flowing tears answered to the summons of love. Her abode is still in the recesses of that valley; my heart knows it, though my eyes perceive it not; I stopped near that dwelling, and my tears were mostly blood; my eyelids seemed to flow with blood (*nomân*) instead of my nose (12).

A novel thought of his is that contained in a piece of verse descriptive of wine; he says:

Joy is its essence, and therefore the bubbles dance (*upon its surface*).

In one of his *kasidas* he says:

The age is corrupt, and all whom I chose for friends were either hypocrites who hoped for favours or flatterers who feared to offend. When I put them to the test, I found in them a sullen heart and a smiling countenance.

This thought he took from a *kasida* of *Abû Tammâm's* *col. l. p. 348*, in which that poet elegantly says:

If you wish to conceive the worst opinion of mankind, examine that multitude of human beings; he is not a friend who offers thee a smiling countenance and conceals a sullen heart.

These digressions have led us away from our subject. — *Al-Abiwardi* composed a great number of works, such as a History of *Abiward* and *Nasa*, a *mukhtaliḥ* and *mutḍaliḥ* (dictionary of proper names, each of them borne by more than one individual), a *tabakât*, or synoptical view, of all the sciences, a treatise on the synonymies occurring in the genealogies of the Arabs, and various philological treatises drawn up on an original plan. His life was virtuous and his conduct exemplary. He died of poison at *Ispahân* on the afternoon of Thursday, the 20th of the first



Rabî, A. H. 507 August, A. D. 1113), and the funeral prayer was said over him in the *Jāmi' l-Atik* (the old mosque) of that city. — *Abiwardi* means native of *Abiward*, called also *Abdward* and *Bâward*, a village in Khorasân which has produced many learned and eminent men. As-Samâni says, in his *Ansâb*, under the word *AL-Kûfani*: "This relative adjective signifies *belonging to Kûfan*, a "small village of Khorâsân, at six parasangs from Abiward. It was built by "Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir (vol. II. p. 49) and has produced a number of Trâditionists and other eminent men, one of whom was the philologist Abû 'l-Mu-zaffar Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Kûfani, better known by the appellation of "al-Abiwardi the philologist."

(1) From this genealogy we learn that there were two Moawlas in the Omaiyyide family; one of them was styled *al-Asghar* (the less), to distinguish him from the khalif of the same name. It has been already observed (vol. II. p. 372), that there were also two Omaiyas in the same family.

(2) This Anbasa must have been brother to the khalif Moawla.

(3) The life of Abû Zakariyâ Yahya Ibn Manda will be found in this work. That of his ancestor Muhammad Ibn Manda has been given, page 7 of this volume, but there Ibn Khallikân seems to have been mistaken in attributing to the latter also a history of Ispahân.

(4) This writer means to say that al-Abiwardi was one of the most distinguished amongst the persons employed in the civil service, (*ruwâd*, plural of *raî*), and that he bore the title of *Afdal ad-Dawlat* (the most excellent of the empire).

(5) In these verses he speaks as a member of the Omaiyyide family.

(6) *Radiant with honour*; literally: the water of which (*faces*) had nearly fallen in drops. See the meaning of the expression *water of the face* explained in vol. I. page 108. The same line offers another example of the various significations which the expression رقيق الحواشي can assume; it is here rendered by *ingenious honour*.

(7) The name of this place is written variously in the MSS. They give the following readings: خبره , حمرة and نجبره. It is perhaps the Hira of Naisâpûr; see vol. II. p. 674.

(8) See vol. I. page 97, note.

(9) I read حوشيتم with the MS. 84, fonds Asselin.

(10) Literally: *calumniators*.

(11) *Nomân al-Irak* is the name of a valley or glen between Mekka and at-Tâif.

(12) This idea, so burlesque in the translation, does not present the same ludicrous image in the original text; the quibble on the word *nomân* diverting the attention of the reader from its absurdity.

## IBN ABI 'S-SAKR.

Abū 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Omar, surnamed Ibn Abi 's-Sakr, was a native of Wāsit and a doctor of the Shafite sect. He studied jurisprudence under the *shaikh* Abū Ishak as-Shirāzi (vol. I. p. 9), but, yielding to his predominant passion for the cultivation of literature and poetry, he became principally known as an amateur of the belles-lettres. I saw the *diwān* of his poetical works at Damascus, in the *Ashrafiya* library, which collection is preserved in the *turba* (or *mausoleum*) erected over the tomb of al-Malik al-Ashraf. It is situated to the north of the (edifice erected as an) addition to the Great Mosque (al-Jāmi' 'l-Kabīr) and called al-Kallāsa. This *diwān* consists of one volume. The author was extremely partial to the Shafite sect, and published on that subject a number of *kasidas* generally known by the title of *as-Shāfiya* (the *Shafian*); he composed also some elegies on the death of the *shaikh* Abū Ishak. In the elegant precision of his style, the beauty of his penmanship, and the excellence of his poetry, he displayed talents of the very highest order. Abū 'l-Ma'ālī 'l-Ilaziri (vol. I. p. 363) mentions him in the *Zīna tad-Dahr*, and quotes the following piece of his amongst others :

Every favour which you may expect from men always encounters some obstacle; and I shall say, may God pardon me (*for doing so*)! but my words are metaphoric, not literal: "I approve of nothing in the conduct of Satan, except his refusing to worship a created being (I)." "

He gives also these verses which are still currently known :

By the sacredness of love! no person can replace you (*in my heart*); never, in your absence, have I turned my affections towards any other object! I long for your presence, and your image is sent to (*visit my slumbers and thus*) effect our meeting, but, alas! I cannot close my eyes. I proposed to my companions this condition — that you, not they, should have my heart. and they agreed (*to it*). I spoke of you so often, that they said: "He is unwell;" and I replied: "May that malady never leave me!"

Having attained an advanced age and being obliged to sustain his feeble steps with a stick, he said :

In every thing which you examined, you will perceive something extraordinary: when strong, I went on two legs, but now, being weak, I go on three.

To the idea expressed in the last verse, I have myself alluded in the following lines :

O thou who askest how I am, receive this summary answer : After possessing strength enough to split a rock, I now walk on three legs, and the best of them is the staff.

To excuse himself for not rising to receive his friends, he composed these verses :

An indisposition called *eighty years* hinders me from rising to receive my friends ; but when they reach an advanced age, they will understand and accept my excuse.

The following piece also was written by him in his old age :

When I approached towards the unities of ninety, an age which none of my fathers ever reached, I knew full well that I should soon have other neighbours and another home (*the dead and the tomb*) ; so I turned towards God, repenting of my past life ; God will never cast into the fire him who turns towards him.

Having gone to pay a visit of consolation to a family which were mourning the death of a little child, the persons present nodded to each other, as if to say : "How strange that a man trembling with old age should survive, whilst this child could not escape death !" Perceiving their thoughts, he pronounced these lines :

An aged *shaikh* entered where the youths were met to mourn the death of a little child, and you saw an objection against God's justice, because the infant died and the old man lived. But you may say to him who has lived one month and to him who has lived one thousand or an intermediate number : We must all come to this !

The following piece is by him :

Meditatus est Ibn Abi 's-Sakr dixitque, ætate jam provecta : "Per Deum, nisi me lotium quotidie mane exureret, oblitus essem mihi mentulam inter femora esse."

His poems abound in fine passages. He was born on the eve of Monday, the 13th of Zû'l-Kaada, A. H. 409 (March, A. D. 1019), and he died at Wâsit on Thursday, the 14th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 498 (February, A. D. 1105).

(1) "And (*remember*) when we said unto the angels: Worship Adam; and they all worshipped him, except "Satan (*Iblis*), who said: Shall I worship him whom thou hast created of clay?"—(*Koran*, sûrat 17, v. 63.)

## IBN AL-HABBARIYA.

The *sharîf* Abû Yala Muhammad Ibn Sâlih Ibn Hamza Ibn Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Isa Ibn Mûsa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs al-Hâshimî (*a member of the Hâshim family*) al-Abbâsî (*descended from Ibn Abbâs* [vol. I. p. 89]), generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Habbâriya and surnamed Nizâm ad-dîn (*the maintainer of religion*), was a native of Baghdad and a poet of great talent and celebrity. Though animated with the best intentions (1), he had an evil tongue and so strong an inclination for satire that he hardly spared a single person. The *katib* Imâd ad-dîn mentions him in the *Kharîda* and says: “(He was “one) of Nizâm al-Mulk’s (vol. I. p. 443) poets, and his predominant styles of “composition were the satirical, the humorous, and the obscene. Cast (as it “were) in the same mould as Ibn Hâjjâj (vol. I. p. 448), he trod in the same “path and surpassed him in licentiousness, but those pieces of his in which decency is respected are highly beautiful (2).” Attached to the service of Nizâm al-Mulk Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Ishak, the vizir of the sultan Alp Arslân and of Malak Shâh, that prince’s son, he was treated by him with the utmost kindness and unceasing beneficence. A spirit of hatred and jealousy having sprung up between Nizâm al-Mulk and Taj al-Mulk Abi ‘l-Ghanâim Ibn Dârest (3), a thing which usually happens with men high in office, the latter told Ibn al-Habbâriya to compose a satire on Nizâm al-Mulk, promising the poet his favour and an ample recompense in case he consented. “But how,” said Ibn al-Habbâriya, “can I attack a man to whose kindness I am indebted for every “object I see in my house?” — “I insist on your compliance,” said Taj al-Mulk; and the poet composed the following piece:

Wonder not that Ibn Ishak rules and that fate assists him; (*wonder not that*) prosperity flows pure for him and turbid for Abû ‘l-Ghanâim. Fortune is like the wheel for raising water, it cannot be moved but by oxen.

When these verses were communicated to Nizâm al-Mulk, who was a native of Tûs, he merely observed that they contained an allusion to a common proverb:

The people of Tûs are oxen (4), and not only abstained from punishing the poet, but overlooked his conduct and treated him with greater kindness than ever (5). This is cited as an instance of Nizâm al-Mulk's noble conduct and of his extreme indulgence. Notwithstanding the extraordinary degree of favour shown to him by this vizir, Ibn al-Halbâriya had much to suffer from the malice of his patron's pages and followers, (*who detested him*) from what they knew of his evil tongue. Their petulance became at length so excessive that he wrote the following lines to Nizâm al-Mulk :

Take refuge with Nizâm al-Hadratain ar-Rida (6) when the sons of the age detest thee. Let his aspect cleanse thy eyes from the dust which makes them smart when worthless people overcome thee. Bear with the wild humours of his pages; every rose must have its thorn.

Imâd ad din al-Ispahâni says, in the *Kharida*, that the poet sent his son with these verses to the Nakib an-Nukabâ Ali Ibn Tîrâd az-Zainabi, surnamed Nizâm al-Hadratain Abû 'l-Hasan (7).— By the same :

My countenance is too modest for asking favours, and my means are yet more modest. My real merits are but slight, and the emoluments they gain me are yet slighter.

An original idea of his is that of a piece in which he refutes those who pretend that a man can obtain the satisfaction of his wants by travelling abroad ; he says :

They said : " You remain at home and cannot procure a livelihood, yet the man of " prudence can always gain wealth by travelling." I replied : " It is not every " journey which prospers ; profit results from good fortune, not from the fatigues of " travel. How often has one journey been productive, whilst another, under the same " circumstances, has been injurious and left nought to the covetous man but sadness " and disappointment. It is thus that the moon, in journeying, reaches to her full, " and that, deprived of her prosperity, she wanes away."

By the same :

Leave off the details of your misery and sum them up (*in these words*) : There is not in the world a man (*worthy of the name*). When the pawn on the chess-board becomes a queen, it seems just that the queen should become a pawn (8).

As a specimen of his humorous poetry, we may give the following passages :

When Abū Saïd perceived that, for a whole year, I abstained from wine, he said: "Tell me who was the *shaikh* by whom you were converted;" and I replied: "That *shaikh* was poverty."

I dreamt that my wife held me by the ear, and that she wielded in her hand an object of leather, crooked in shape, black in colour, but marked with spots, and shaped, towards the extremity, like a foot (9). I awoke with the fright, and the nape of my neck was already quite red: had my dream lasted, I, a learned *shaikh*, should have lost my eyes.

By the same:

The Tājīan court (10) is a garden; may its beauty last for ever! In that garden, an humble (*poet*) is the ring-dove; its cooings are eulogies, and its collar rewards.

By the same:

Let *her* do as she pleases; it is indifferent to me whether *she* shun (*me*) or accept (*me*). How often have we seen darker *locks* than *her's* turn grey (11).

Ibn al-Habbāriya's poetry abounds in beauties: he turned *Kalīla wa Dimna* into verse and gave it under the title of *Natāj al-Fitna* (*offspring of the intellect*). In the life of al-Bārī ad-Dabbās (*vol. I. p. 459*), we have mentioned a piece of Ibn al-Habbāriya's, rhyming in *d*, with al-Bārī's answer and an account of what passed between them; in our article on the vizir Fakhr ad-Dawlat Muhammad Ibn Jahir we shall mention an amusing adventure of the poet as-Sābik al-Maarri (12) with Ibn al-Habbāriya. His poetical works are very numerous and their *diwān* (*collection*) forms from three to four volumes. One of his most original pieces of versification is a work in the style of *Kalīla wa Dimna* and entitled *as-Sādih wa 'l-Bāghim* (*the loud chenter and the low speaker*). The composition of this book, which contains two thousand verses in the *rajaz* measure, occupied the author ten years. It is an excellent production (13). He sent his son with it to the emir Abū 'l-Hasan Sadaka Ibn Mansūr Ibn Dubais al-Asadi, lord of al-Hilla (*vol. I. p. 631*). It concludes with the following lines:

Here is a fine book which astounds the intelligence; on it I spent ten years, from the time I first heard thy name. I composed it for thy sake; the number of its verses is two thousand, all of them replete with meaning. Were any poet, versifier, or prose-writer to pass a life as long as that of Noah's in composing a single verse like those contained in it, he would not be able to accomplish the task, for it is not every talker who can make verses. I send it with my son, or rather with my heart's blood and liver;

for, in my opinion, thou art worthy of every favour. Confiding in thy kindness, he hastens towards thee, encountering great fatigues and a long journey. Had I been permitted, I should have gone myself with speed and delayed not, for honour and glory, are exclusively thy heritage.

Sadaka granted him an ample recompense in return for his work. According to Imâd ad-din al-Ispahâni, in his *Kharida*, Ibn al-Habbâriya died at Kirmân, A. H. 504 (A. D. 1110-1), where he had passed the latter days of his life after having resided for a time at Ispahân. As-Samâni (vol. II. p. 156) says that he died subsequently to the year 490. — *Habbâriya* means a female descended from *Habbâr*; this *Habbâr* was Ibn al-Habbâriya's grandfather by the mother's side. — *Kirmân*, pronounced sometimes *Karmân*, is a large province (*wildya*) containing a number of cities and towns. It has produced many eminent men. One side of it is bounded by the sea and the other by Khorâsân.

(1) Perhaps the words حسن المقاصد should be rendered: In his compositions, the conceptions were fine.

(2) The extracts which Imâd ad-din gives of his poetry justify, to a certain degree, this eulogium.

(3) Tâj al-Mulk Abû 'l-Ghanâim al-Kummi was secretary and privy counsellor to Turkân Khâtûn, the wife of Malak Shâh and mother of the sultan Mahmûd. He succeeded to the vizirate on the death of Nizâm al-Mulk. In Mirkhond's History of the Seljûkides (ed. Vullers, Giessen 1838) will be found an account of Nizâm al-Mulk's fall and of the enmity which prevailed between him and Turkân Khâtûn (princess of the Turks), the daughter of the khau of Turkestan. — (See also Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 488, and vol. I. page 413 of this work.)

(4) In English it would be said: *are asses*.

(5) Imâd ad-din says, in his *Kharida*, that, on this occasion, Nizâm al-Mulk clothed the poet in a robe of honour and bestowed on him five hundred pieces of gold.

(6) These words prove that it was not of the pages of Nizâm al-Mulk that the poet had to complain, but of those in the service of Nizâm al-Hadratain, a person noticed lower down.

(7) The title of *Sharif* was given not only to the descendants of Ali by Fâtima, the daughter of Muhammad, and by al-Hanâliya, but to the descendants of Hâshim, Muhammad's great-grandfather. The *sharifs* of each province were placed under the control of a *nakib* (ruler or magistrate), chosen by the government from among their own body. The *Nakib an-Nukaba*, or chief *nakib*, resided at Baghdad. Ali Ibn Tirâd was appointed to this office A. H. 491 (A. D. 1097-8), on the death of his father. These two *sharifs* drew their descent from Zainab, the daughter of Sulaimân Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs (vol. I. p. 287), for which reason they bore the surname of *az-Zainabi*. It appears from the verses given by Ibn Khallikân and the observation made by Imâd ad-din, that Ali Ibn Tirâd bore the surname of *ar-Rida* and Nizâm al-Hadratain. Sibî Ibn al-Jauzi informs us, in his *Mirât az-Zamân*, that Tirâd, the father of Ali, was surnamed *Zâ 'l-Sharafain* (possessor of the double nobility) *Shihâb al-Hadratain* (flambeau of the two courts), which latter title may have been given him on account of his diplomatic services when employed by the court of the khalif as its agent at the court of the Seljûk sultan. This conjecture receives some degree of probability from the

statement of the author of the *Mirât*, that Tirâd was frequently sent by the khalif as ambassador to different sovereigns, and that he distinguished himself by his talents and probity. The title of *Nizâm al-Halratâin* (bond of union between the two courts) seems to have been given to his son for a similar reason. That of *ar-Rida*, by which Ali Ibn Tirâd is designated in the verses mentioned by Ibn Khallikân, was borne by a number of *sharîfs*, and is the equivalent of *Rida ad-dîn* (accepted for piety). From the *Kharida* (MS. 1447, fol. 12, 13, 29), it would appear that Ali Ibn Tirâd held at one time the post of vizir, as we find there some poems addressed to him in that quality by the poets Hais Bais vol. I. p. 359) and Abû Ali 'l-Faraj Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ukhyâ al-Muwaddib. In the same work, fol. 35, under the article Abû Abd Allah al-Bâri Ibn ad-Dabbâs, a grammarian whose life is given by Ibn Khallikân, vol. I. p. 469, we find a long extract from a poem addressed by al-Bâri (v. I. p. 459) to Sharaf ad-dîn Ali Ibn Tirâd.

After this note was written, I found a notice on Ali Ibn Tirâd in the *Dual al-Islâmiya*. MS. No. 893, fol. 280. It is there stated that Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Tirâd al-Abbâsi was the first person to whom the khalif al-Muktafi (*li amr illah*) confided the post of vizir. After some time, a coolness took place between them, and Ibn Tirâd fled for protection to the court of the sultan (*Masûd the Seljukide*). By distributing the greater part of his fortune in presents to the sultan's wives and principal officers, he succeeded in obtaining Masûd's mediation in his favour, and the khalif allowed him to return to Baghdad. During the rest of his life, he remained unemployed, and being reduced to the utmost poverty, he died, recommending his children to the khalif's benevolence. Al-Muktafi fulfilled his desire and raised them to wealth. Ibn Tirâd spent large sums in presents to the officers of the state, the men of learning, the strangers who arrived at Baghdad, and the *sharîfs* descended from Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib.

(3) The application of this last verse is by no means manifest. In the *Kharida* and one of the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân, it is placed before the other.

(9) He dreamt that his wife was beating him with an embroidered boot.

(10) He means the court of Tâj al-Mulk Abû 'l-Ghâdim.

(11) In the original piece, of which a translation slightly disguised is here given, the affix in *فأما* might embarrass the Arabic scholar. It must be referred to the word *حبيبة* understood.

(12) Of this poet, who was a native of Maarra tan-Nouân, as his surname implies, Imâd ad-dîn says, in his *Kharida* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 144), that Abû 'l-Yumn Sâbik Ibn Abi Mahzûl went to Irâk during the administration of (*the vizir*) Ibn Jahir and there met Ibn al-Habbâriya. He then gives some short extracts from his poetry without furnishing any further information respecting him.

(13) There are several copies of this work in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, (ancien fonds, No. 1426, fonds St. Germain, No. 509, and fonds Asselin, Nos. 191, 698). Like *Katila and Dimna*, it consists of apologues, fables, and moral maxims. In d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, under the word *Hareba*, will be found a passage in which that orientalist gives a description of the *as-Sâdih wa 'l-Bâghim*, from which may be perceived that he knew nothing of it except the title, and even that imperfectly. *Hareba* is also a false reading of the Arabic *هبارية* *Habbâriya*. He read it as if it had been written *هبارية*.—In noticing this article of d'Herbelot's, I by no means wish to cast an imputation on his talents or deny the services he rendered to oriental literature: the *Bibliothèque orientale* is a very useful book, & truth obliges me to state that not one of the indications given in it merits entire confidence unless it can be verified from other sources. A part of these errors he would probably have corrected, had he lived to superintend the printing of his work.



## IBN AL-KAISARANI THE POET.

Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn Saghīr Ibn Dāghir Ibn Nasr Ibn Dāghir Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khālīd Ibn Nasr Ibn Dāghir Ibn Abd ar-Rahmān Ibn al-Muhādīr Ibn Khālīd Ibn al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī al-Khālīdī al-Halabī (*descended from Khālīd of the family of Makhzūm and native of Aleppo*), surnamed Sharaf al-Maālī (*glory of high deeds*) Odda tad-dīn (*maintenance of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Kaisarānī, was not only a poet of great talent and celebrity, but a philologist of the soundest learning. His genealogy, as here given, was dictated to me by one of his descendants. In the belles-lettres he had for masters Taufīk Ibn Muhammad and Abū Abd Allah Ibn al-Khaiyāt, the poet whose life we have already given (*vol. I. p. 128*). He displayed great acquirements in philology and astronomy. At Aleppo, he studied under the *khatīb* Abū Tāhir Hāshim Ibn Ahmad al-Halabī and other masters. He himself gave lessons to the *hāfiz* Abū 'l-Kāsim Ibn Asākīr (*vol. II. p. 252*) and the *hāfiz* Abū Saad Ibn as-Samānī (*vol. II. p. 156*), both of whom mention him in their respective works. Abū 'l-Maālī 'l-Hazīrī (*vol. I. p. 568*), who also received lessons from him, speaks of him in his work, the *Mulah*. Ibn al-Kaisarānī and Ibn Munīr (*vol. I. p. 138*) were the two principal poets of Syria at that epoch, and their encounters gave rise to many curious and amusing anecdotes. The latter was accused of attacking the character of Muhammad's companions and of being inclined to the Shi'ite doctrines; this induced Ibn al-Kaisarānī, who was told that Ibn Munīr had directed his satire against him, to write him the following lines:

Ibn Munīr! in reviling me, you have insulted a man of learning whose rectitude of judgment was beneficial to mankind. But my heart is not oppressed for that; I have before me an example in the Companions (1).

A fine passage of his poetry is the following:

How many nights did I pass sipping intoxicating draughts from the wine-cup and her lips; thus mingling one delicious liquor with another! She defended not her mouth from my kisses; it was like a fortress without a guard (2).

When in Aleppo, I found the *diwân* of his poetical works, all in his own handwriting; and I extracted from it some passages, one of which was the following in praise of a preacher:

The bosom of the pulpit expands with pleasure to receive you. Tell me; does that (*odour of sanctity*) proceed from the preacher which it contains or from some sweet perfume with which it is anointed.

This alliteration is the perfection of beauty (3). I have since found these verses attributed to Abû 'l-Kâsim Zaid Ibn Abi 'l-Fath Ahmad Ibn Obaid Ibn Fassâl al-Mawâzini, a native of Aleppo whose father was generally known by the appellation of al-Mâhir (*the skilful*). It is there said that Ibn al-Kaisarâni recited them to the *khatîb* Ibn Hâshim on the appointment of the latter to the office of preacher at Aleppo, and that they were attributed to him for this reason. Having met with a different reading of the first verse, I give it here:

The pulpit was proud of his honours, when you mounted it as a preacher.

The following is a piece of his in the amatory style (*ghazal*):

At the foot of Mount Lebanon I possess a moon (*a beauty*) whose stations are *not in the zodiac but* in the hearts of men. The north wind bears me her salutation, and the south wind bears mine to her. Her qualities are unrivalled and rare; for beauty, in this world, is a rarity. I always remember the night when she said, on seeing my body worn away: "I pray thee, tell me, youth, who caused thy sickness?" and I replied: "The person who can cure it."

By the same:

Dixerunt: Jam apparuit (*lanugo in*) gena ejus, attamen præfectura ejus vacat (*vel: et nondum ab eo avertisti amorem tuum*); et dixi: Quin ino lanugo illius ejus imperium amo, vexillum præfecti est.

A charming *kasîda* of Ibn al-Kaisarâni's contains the following original idea:

Here is the person who ravished sleep from her lovers; dost thou not see her eyes filled with (*the sto'en*) languor (4)?

In composing this verse, he had in mind the eulogium addressed by al-Mutanabbî (*vol. I. p. 102*) to Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân; that poet says:

Thou hast taken the lives of so many (*enemies*) that, couldst thou add their days to thine, thou wouldst acquire immortality and rejoice the world.

Ibn al-Kaisarāni frequently expressed himself highly satisfied with the following verse from one of his own *kastās* :

I love a person before whom the moon fell prostrate in adoration ; seest thou not, on her face (*disk*) the marks left by the dust.

Being present at a concert of (*religious*) music where there was an excellent singer, he composed these lines on seeing the audience overcome with a thrill of ecstatic delight :

By Allah ! if lovers knew the just value of their souls, they would sacrifice them for thine, though they were dear to them and precious guarded. When thou singest in their assemblies, thou art really the breath of the zephyr and they are the branches (*which it agitates*).

My friend al-Fakhr (*Fakhr ad-dīn*) Ishak Ibn al-Mukhtass al-Irbili (*native of Arbela*) recited to me a stanza of four verses (*dubait*), composed, by his own account, on seeing the cushions fall off the sofas at a concert of (*religious*) music, when the audience, some of whom were far advanced in the practices of mysticism (5), fell into an ecstasy of delight :

The herald of song entered unawares, at midnight, into the assembly of lovers who longed for the sight of God (6), and he was answered by sobs and burning sighs. Had the rocks heard his strains, they had fallen prostrate with delight, why then should cotton and tattered (*cushions*) not do the same ?

Ibn al-Kaisarāni was born at Akka (*Acre*) in the year 478 (A. D. 1085-6), and he died at Damascus on the eve of Wednesday, the 21st of Shaabān; A. H. 548 (November, A. D. 1153). The next morning, he was interred in the cemetery at the Farādis Gate.—*Khālidi* means *descended from Khālīd* Ibn al-Walīd al-Makh-zūmi (7); so say the people of Ibn al-Kaisarāni's family, but the majority of historians and the learned in genealogy declare that the posterity of this Khālīd became extinct after a lapse of time. God best knows the truth ! — *Kaisarāni* means *belonging to Kaisariya (Cæsarea)*, a village on the coast of Syria.

(1) These verses occur also in the life of Ibn Munir, but not recollecting the circumstance from which they took rise, I gave an erroneous explanation of the second line.

(2) In Arabic, *thughr* signifies both *mouth* and *fortress*; the poet quibbles on this double meaning.

(3) The alliteration to which our author alludes is the perfect consonance which exists between the last words of the two hemistichs of the last verse: صنغ طيبا and صنم خطيبا.

(4) The Arabic word *wasan*, here rendered by *languor*, signifies also *drowsiness*.

(5) Literally: *owners of the hearts*.

(6) Literally: *the circle of desire*.

(7) He means the celebrated Khâlid who commanded the Moslems on their first entrance into Syria.

### IBN AL-KIZANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Thâbit Ibn Faraj al-Kinâni, a teacher of the Koran-readings, a philologer, a follower of the sect of as-Shâfi, a native of Egypt, surnamed also al-Khâmi (*the dealer in raw hides*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Kizâni, was a poet of considerable reputation and a pious devotee. There is an order (*of dervishes*) in Egypt called Kizânites after him, and they place implicit faith in his sayings. He left a *diwân* of poems, most of which inculcate self-mortification; I have never seen the book, but I heard one verse of his which pleased me much; it is the following:

Since passion befits the lover, so should kindness befit the beloved.

His poetry contains some very fine passages. He died at Old Cairo on the eve of Tuesday, the 9th of the first Rabi—some say in the month of Muharram—A. H. 562 (January, A. D. 1167), and he was interred in the Lesser Karâfa, near the mausoleum of the *imâm* as-Shâfi (*vol. II. p. 563*). His body was afterwards removed to the foot of mount Mukattam, and deposited near the cistern which is called by the name of Omm Maudûd. The tomb erected over him there is a well-known object of pilgrimage; I have visited it myself more than once.—*Kizâni* means a *maker* or *seller of pitchers* *kizân*; one of his ancestors followed that trade.

## AL-ABLAH THE POET.

Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Bakhtiyār Ibn Abd Allah al-Muwallad, sur-named al-Ablah, a celebrated poet, was a native of Baghdad and one of the best poets who flourished in these latter times. In his compositions he united tenderness (*of sentiment*) to artifice (*of style and expression*), and the *divēdu* of his poetical works is often to be found in the hands of readers. The *kātib* Imād ad-dīn mentions him in the *Kharīda* and says: "He is an ingenious youth and "wears the military dress. His poetry is written in a strain of tender senti-  
"ment; it delights by the artifice of its composition, ravishes by its excellence  
"and pleases by the sweetness of its style; in tenderness it surpasses the morn-  
"ing zephyr, and in beauty the flowered silks of Tustur (1). His poetical  
"essays, though few in number, get all into wide circulation, and the musi-  
"cians sing his charming verses set to old airs; they rush as eagerly to obtain  
"his delightful poems as the bird, in its circling flight, rushes down to the  
"pure fountain." He then adds that, in the year 555 A.D. 1160, al-Ablah recited to him, at Baghdad, the following passage of a *kasīda* as his own composition:

She whose visits give me life came to me when the darkness had *assumed* the tint of her hair. When she turned her head (2) *(she seemed)* a moon; and wrapped in the folds of her green mantle *(she seemed)* a willow branch. I passed the night unsealing (3) the wine *(of her lips)*, whilst I deceived the vigilance of spies and took her unawares. O how sweet that visit! though short, it ended for ever *(the pains I suffered from)* her protracted cruelty. I sigh for that slender waist and for the refreshing coolness of those lips. I sigh for her who in beauty is a statue; we are all in the pagan troop of her adorers.

A well-known verse of his is the following, taken from a brilliant *kasīda*:

None know what amorous passion is except him who suffers its torments; none know what love is except him who feels its pains.

The following sentimental verses are taken from a passage of a *kasīda* in which he praises his mistress:

Leave me to my sufferings; let me undergo the pains of love! O how wide the difference between him whose heart is free and him whom beauty has made its captive! I

swear that I heed not the reproaches (*of my friends*); they have only excited my impatience from the time that passion first held my rein. (*I swear that the counsels of censorious females shall not amend me as long as I see gardens of beauty in the cheeks of the fair!* In me (*the feelings of*) consolation are (*vainly*) sought; love always lives (*within me*), but consolation is dead. O thunder cloud! if thou art unkind to the valley (*where my beloved resided and refuseth it thy refreshing showers*), know, that often the clouds of our eyes have supplied it with the rains refused by thee. No! never shall I forget the hill where I met thee (*my beloved!*), nor the time I stationed at a spot which I envy to its jealous possessor. And that maid with the slender waist and languishing eyes; how long have I preserved my love for her, yet it was lost upon her! How long have I obeyed her, yet she never yielded to my wishes (*4*)! She wounds the hearts of lovers with glances yet sharper than the point of the spear; her movements are full of grace. I went astray in the darkness which her hair shed around, on the day of our separation, and was directed again by the brightness of her teeth (*5*). When she stands up, in her fair proportions, and gracefully bends her waist, the pliant branch of the willow blushes (*to be vanquished*). Dwellers in the valley of Nomân! it was after your cheeks, and not after the king an-Nomân, that the anemonies were called *shakdîk an-Nomân* (*6*). Taper lances in skilful hands wound not the heart so deeply as the bitterness of (*her*) disdain.

This passage is taken from a long *kasîda* of which the eulogistic part is excellent. All his poetry is of the same cast, and his transitions from the description of the mistress to the praises of the patron are beautifully managed and have been rarely equalled. As an example of this, we may cite the *kasîda* which begins thus :

I gathered crops of roses off those cheeks, and in clasping that waist, I embraced a willow branch.

On coming to the transition, he says :

And if I ever suffer the dispraise of (*my beloved*) Hind to ring in my ears, may I never repel the dispraise of Hind! may my eyes never find a way to shed tears of love! may I never pass the night in the bondage of love and passion! may I reveal the favours I have received, and may I return home manifesting ingratitude and coldness for the bounties of Majd ad-dîn.

Again, in another *kasîda*, he says :

There is no real love but mine for Laila; there is no glory but that of Ibn ad-Dawâni (*7*).

And again, in another :

I swear that in love I stand alone, and that Kamâl ad-dîn stands alone in beneficence!

To these might be added other examples. Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. I. pp. 439, 674*) says, in his History, that al-Ablah died at Baghdad in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 579 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 1183). Others place his death a year later. He was interred at the Abzer Gate, opposite to the (*edifice called*) *at-Tajjiya*.—*Ablah* (*simpleton*) is a word so well known that it is unnecessary to mark its pronunciation. He was called by this name because there was a shade of simplicity in his character, or, according to some, because he was extremely shrewd: *ablah* being one of those words which bear two opposite significations. It is thus that they call a negro *Kâfâr* (*camphor*) (7).—Having conceived a friendship for a youth of Baghdad, he passed one day by his house, and taking advantage of a moment when no person was present, he wrote on the door the following lines. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn says that they were repeated to him by the author:

Thy dwelling, O full moon of the darkness! is a paradise which alone can give delight to my soul. And in a tradition it is said that the greater part of the people of Paradise are the *simple*.

Ibn at-Taâwizi, a poet whose life we shall give, satirized al-Ablah in the grossest terms, but though the piece is well versified, I shall abstain from inserting it.

(1) "On fabrique à Tuster de belles étoffes de soie. C'était des ateliers de cette ville que sortait l'étoffe destinée à couvrir la Ka'aba."—(*Géographie d'Edrisi*, tom. I. p. 383.)

(2) Literally: Her neck.

(3) Literally: Manifesting.

(4) Literally: I preserved her, and she destroyed me; I obeyed her, and she disobeyed me.

(5) In this verse I have developed the poet's idea to render it intelligible.

(6) See vol. II. page 37.

(7) One of the manuscripts gives the reading *ad-Dawdi*.

(8) With the Arabs *camphor* is synonymous with *whiteness*.

### SIBT IBN AT-TAAWIZI.

Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allâh the *kâtib*, surnamed Ibn at-Taâwizi, was a celebrated poet. His father, who was a *marid* to the al-Muzaffar family (1),

bore the name of Nûshṭikin, but the son changed it into Obaid Allah. The mother of Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad was daughter to the holy ascetic, Abû Muhammad al-Mubârak Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn Ali Ibn Nasr Ibn as-Sarrâj al Jaubari, generally known by the surname of Ibn at-Taâwizi and by the title of Jamâl ad-din (*beauty of religion*) (2). Having been brought up from his childhood by his maternal grandfather, and having passed his youth under his care, he also was surnamed Ibn at-Taâwizi. As a poet, Abû 'l-Fath stood without a rival; in his verses he combined correctness and sweetness of expression with tenderness and subtilty of thought. His pieces are charming and beautiful in the highest degree; I do not think that, for two hundred years before, any poet existed at all like him; and let not the reader of this article blame me when I say this, for opinions vary according to the character of him who pronounces them, and it has been well said by a poet: *Men's tastes differ as to what they love.* Ibn at-Taâwizi was a *kâtib* (*clerk*) in the sief office (*Diwân at-Makṭiât*) at Baghdad. In the year 579 (A. D. 1183-4), towards the close of his life, he lost his sight, and in some of his later poems he laments that privation and regrets the happy days of his youth. Before he became blind, he collected his own works into a *diwân*, drawn up in four sections and preceded by an ingenious introduction (*khothba*).—The pieces which he composed afterwards, he entitled *az-Zâidât* (*additions*), and it therefore happens that these additions are wanting in some copies of his *diwân*. When he lost his sight he was inscribed as a pensioner in the (*pension*-) office, and obtained that his own name should be replaced on the register by those of his sons; but, some time after, he wrote the following lines to the *imâm* (*khalif*) an-Nâsir li-din Allah, requesting a new pension for himself, to be continued as long as he lived:

Khalif of God! you sustain the weight of religion, the world, and islamism; you follow closely the regulations prescribed by the ancient imâms, those land-marks of sure guidance. Under thy reign, poverty and injustice have disappeared; sedition and heresy are seen no longer, and all the people tread in the paths of good policy, beneficence, and justice. Mighty prince! you at whose prohibition fortune ceases her tyranny—you who have bestowed on us favours double and fourfold! my land is struck with sterility, and you alone can restore the impoverished possessor to plenty. I have a family, alas too numerous! which have consumed my means, and their appetite is yet unsated; when they saw me in opulence, they assembled around me, and sat and hearkened to my wishes, but, long since, they broke every tie and turned away on finding me penniless (3). They roam about me on every side, and, like scorpions, wherever they pass



they sting. Among them are children, boys, infants at the breast just able to creep, aged men, and youths full grown. From none of them, young or old, can I hope to derive advantage; they have throats leading to stomachs which receive a greater load than they can carry. Their paunches are wide and empty; their consuming appetite cannot be satisfied. With them, chewing is useless; the morsel which enters their mouth is swallowed without that ceremony. The story which I now relate concerns myself, and will amuse him who is well disposed and lends his ear. I foolishly made over my pension to sons, of whom, as long as I live, I shall get no good. I examined what profit they might bring me, but I had not the talent of drawing profit from my sons. I said to them: "When I die, this is yours;" but they obeyed me not, neither did they hearken to my wishes. They stole all my money, before I could cast my eye upon it, or touch it with my hand. By Allah! I did wrong and harmed myself, and they also have done wrong. But, if you wish to end our contestations, grant me a new pension, wherewith to encounter and amplify my straitened means; and if you say that I have been made a dupe, know that the generous man is often duped. God forbid that my old pension should be erased from the registers of your office and cut off. Sign your consent to my demand, for my hopes are excited and those hopes are firm. Defer not your answer, for I am not to be put off, even though you pushed me away with your own hands; put it in my power to swear that, to transport my pension to another, I shall never raise my hand nor put it (*to paper*).

With what ingenuity he adduces, in these verses, the motives which should tend to the fulfilment of his desire! were the piece recited to a rock, it would soften and bend it! So, the Commander of the faithful gave orders that he should receive the pension. Having then obtained (*as an equivalent for his monthly pay*) a quantity of bad flour, he addressed a versified complaint to the storekeeper Fakhr ad-dîn; it begins thus:

My lord Fakhr ad-dîn! thou art prompt to deeds of generosity, when other men are averse and slow. God forbid that you should consent to my receiving an allowance like that of common door-porters and torch-bearers (4). (*They have given me*) a substance black as night, worth from a farthing to a *kirât* (*four pence*) a bushel, altered by age and spoiled to an excessive degree. My offended senses are troubled (*by it*), my health impaired, and the humours of my constitution corrupted. Take charge of my cure; I submit to an able Hippocrates the malady of which I complain.

Sharaf ad-dîn Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Said Ibn Ibrahim at-Tamimi, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Baladi (5), was vizir to the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mustanjid billah and president of the council of state (*wazîr ad-Diwân il-Azîz*). He once removed the directors of all the government offices from their places and committed them to prison; having then examined their accounts, he inflicted on them heavy fines, personal chastisements, and tortures. This occurrence inspired Ibn at-Taâwîzi with the following lines:

Traveller to Baghdad! avoid a city overflowed by the swollen waves of tyranny. If you go to request a favour, return, for all the doors are shut against him who hopes. That place is no longer what it lately was when its hotels (6) were filled with solicitors, and when the heads of noble families, eminent scholars, and distinguished *kâtibs* resided within its walls. Time was then in its newness, and fortune in the bloom of its youth; talent and learning were richly rewarded by generous protectors. (*That city*) is now destroyed with its inhabitants; their mansions have been desolated by the existence of our lord the vizir. Baghdad offers nought to the living but the grave, with stones and earth to be cast upon their corpses. Some are condemned to perpetual imprisonment, where tortures ever renewed are heaped upon them. From thence no hopes of return; can we hope for the return of those who inhabit the tomb! The people are in desolation; ties of blood and ties of friendship hold no longer. The father betrays the son, the wife the husband; relations and friends betray. The mediation of intercessors avails not; offenders obtain no respite to repent of their faults. They all see the day of judgment arrived; and those who doubted of the resurrection have now become believers; the crowd is not wanting, nor the balance, nor the books of men's acts presented to view, nor the volumes opened, nor the call to reckoning; the inexorable guards execute the sentence upon mankind; chains are there, clubs, and punishment, nay, all the threatened terrors of the day of judgment, but a merciful and compassionate being is not there.

He composed the following lines on the same vizir :

O Lord! hearken to our affliction, for thou canst remove it; (*alas!*) have we not come to a time in which Abû Jaafar is vizir.

Muhibb ad-din Ibn an-Najjâr (*vol. I. p. 11*) states, in his History of Baghdad, that on Monday, the 8th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 566 (December, A. D. 1170, the *imâm* al-Mustanjid billah died and was succeeded by his son the *imâm* al-Mustadi bi-amr illah. The next day, Tuesday, the new khalif held a sitting to receive the allegiance of his people. Immediately after, the mayor of the palace, (*Ustâd ad-Dâr*) Adud ad-din Abû 'l-Faraj (a person of whom we shall again speak lower down,) came forth with Ibn al-Basti (7, and said to him: "The khalif has given orders that the law of talion shall have its course against this man;" pointing to the vizir. They instantly seized on Abû Jaafar and dragged him along the ground, after which they cut off his nose, one of his hands, one of his feet, and finally his head. The trunk and the severed members were then placed in (*the concavity of*) a shield and cast into the Tigris. This vizir, when in power, had cut off the nose of Ibn al-Basti's mother, and the hand and the foot of his brother, but that day Ibn al-Basti took his revenge: God preserve us from the evil consequences of our own deeds!

—*Sibt* (8) Ibn at-Taâwizi was *mawla* to Adud ad-din Abû 'l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn al-Muzaffar, the same who treated the vizir Ibn al-Baladi in this manner, and he once wrote to his patron the following piece, requesting *an allowance of barley* for his horse :

O my patron ! thou whose acts of kindness cannot be counted, and whose generosity is ample and abundant when the gifts bestowed by other men are rare ! thou to whom we have recourse, and under whose shade we repose when fortune plays the tyrant ! I have a long story to tell of my old bay horse : I bought him without necessity, and behold the consequence of indulging in superfluities : I thought he would have carried my travelling furniture, but all my fine hopes were disappointed, and I never imagined, O misery, that I should myself have to carry his heavy burden. A saddle is good to sit on, but it is a heavy object on my shoulders. His back is white like the owl's (9) ; his worth is neither great nor little ; his qualities are not of the best, and his appearance far from handsome ; he is a *harûn* (10) and slow in his movements ; he is not a racer, nor obedient to the bit ; neither does his rump nor his neck awaken admiration in the beholder ; when he steps out he steps short, but when they give him enough to eat, it is long before he stops. Straw and clean barley delight him, as also clover and green fodder, but thou wilt see his teeth water at the sight of *ikrish* (11) ; he has only one good point—that of being a good feeder. Then give him to-day whatever is at hand, and treat him as one of your own. Say not : "That is too little ;" a single straw is precious in his eye.

I give these pieces because they are greatly admired (12), but his *kasidas* containing the praises of his mistress and his patrons are of the utmost beauty. He composed a book called *Kitâb al-Hajaba wa 'l-Hijâb* (*on chamberlains and door-curtains*) (13) ; it fills about fifteen quires (*three hundred pages*) and is a scarce work. The author treats the subject at great length. Imâd ad-din al-Ispâhâni mentions, in his *Kharîda*, that when he passed into Syria and was attached to the service of the sultan Salâh ad-din, Ibn at-Taâwizi, with whom he had been acquainted when in Irâk, addressed to him an epistle with a *kasîda* in which he requested from him a present of a furred pelisse. He gives a copy of the epistle, which ran as follows : "*(Thy humble servant)* has undertaken the task of *celebrating* thy generous acts, acts by no means a task for beneficence (*like thine!*) (14) and he here offers thee his expectations as a present, and such a present ! They consist in the obtaining of a Damascus furred pelisse, magnificent, spotless, soft to the touch, an ornament to the wearer, made with skins carefully dressed, sewn with care, long as thy longanimity, ample as thy beneficence, fair as thy deeds, large as thy heart, spotless as thy honour,

“excellent as thy merit, embroidered like thy poetry and prose; its exterior  
 “(pleasing) like thy aspect, its interior (sound) like thy heart, adorning the  
 “wearer, and embellishing the assemblies; to serve as a cloak to thy hum-  
 “ble servant and a lustre to thy glory, which God protect! so that even he  
 “who does not wear it may be grateful to thee, and he who does not put it  
 “on may praise thee for it. The gloss of its fur may fade, but the impressi-  
 “on of gratitude which it produced will remain; the skins may wear out, but our  
 “thanks and praises shall be renewed. (*Thy humble servant*) has composed  
 “some verses in which he has combined every species of ornament, and, though  
 “the sending of them to you is like the sending of dates to Hajar (45), yet he  
 “presents them in the same manner as perfumes are offered to the perfumer  
 “and as clothes are placed in the hands of the vender. (*Thy servant*) thus de-  
 “posits his eulogium in its fitting place, and he brings the merit (*of his produc-*  
 “*tion*) into conjunction with the meritorious, by composing this (*kasida*) in thy  
 “honour and confiding it to the safeguard of thy generosity.” Imâd ad-din  
 then gives the *kasida*, which begins thus :

I should sacrifice my father to preserve that person for whom, in my love, I pine  
 with desire and passion.

This piece is to be found in his (*Ibn at-Taâwîzi's diwân*). In reply to this *kasida*, Imâd ad-din wrote another, rhyming in the same syllable; they are both of great length. Before mentioning the epistle and the *kasida*, Imâd ad-din speaks in these terms of the author: “A young man of talent, instruction, influence, discretion, manliness, spirit, and honour, with whom I was united in the bonds of friendship by the sincerity of our mutual sentiments, and who possessed in perfection all the means (*of pleasing*) which wit, ingenuity, and intelligence can bestow.” He then inserts the epistle with the *kasida* and its answer. I never saw any thing like this letter except one of which I shall speak in the life of Bahâ ad-din Ibn Siyâddâd, to whom Ibn Kharûf al-Maghribi indited an epistle of great originality, in which he asked him for a pelisse of dressed furs.—Ibn at-Taâwîzi was born on Friday, the 10th of Rajab, A. H. 519 (August, A. D. 1125), and he died at Baghdad on the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 584 (November, A. D. 1188); some say, 583. He was interred at the Abrez Gate According to Ibn an-Najjâr, in his History, the birth of Ibn at-

Taâwizi took place on a Friday, and his death on Saturday, the 18th of Shawwâl. — *Tadhiri* means a writer of amulets; *tadhiri* signifying amulets. It was under this surname that Abû Muhammad al-Mubârak Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn as-Sarrâj al-Baghdâdi, the pious and holy ascetic already named towards the beginning of this article, was generally known. Ibn as-Samâni (*vol. II. p. 156*), who mentions him in the *Zail* (*supplement*) and in the *Ansâb*, says: "Perhaps his father dealt in charms and wrote amulets." Ibn as-Samâni received from him some traditional information; this writer says also: "I asked him where and when he was born, to which he replied: 'At al-Karkh (*the suburb of Baghdad*), in the year 476 (A. D. 1083-4).' He died in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 553 (June, A. D. 1158), and was interred in the Shûnizi Cemetery. He recited to me the following lines as his own:

"Let one object only (*God*) engage your thoughts, and chase all other cares. You may thus happily obtain such knowledge as may render all human learning useless."

"He then informed me that these were the only verses he ever composed (16)." — *Nushtikîn* is a foreign name borne by white slaves (*mamlûks*). We have already stated, in the beginning of this article, that Nushtikîn was a mamlûk belonging to a descendant of al-Muzaffar, the son of Rais ar-Ruwasâ. Ibn at-Taâwizi being one of their *marclas*, and much indebted to their kindness, composed a number of brilliant poems in their praise, and these he assembled in one of the four chapters into which his *divân* is divided.

(1) See page 168 of this volume.

(2) A short account of al-Mubârak Ibn at-Taâwizi will be found at the end of this article.

(3) The word *kitâ*, the plural of *kitâ*, signifies *segments, pieces cut off a coin, to serve as small change*.

(4) The word نَفَاط (*naffât*) means a preparer of combustibles with naphtha.

(5) An account of the rise and fall of the vizir Ibn al-Baladi is to be found in the *Duwal al-Islâmiya* (MS. No. 895, fol. 286); Ibn al-Athîr gives an account of his death in the *Kâmil*, year 363.

(6) The signification of the word *raba* has explained in vol. I. page 347.

(7) None of the historians whose works I have consulted speak of this person. One of the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân reads *as-Sibtî* (السبتى) instead of al-Bastî (الbastى).

(8) *Sibt* (سبط) signifies a daughter's son, a grandson by the female line.

(9) This whiteness of the back resulted probably from its having been excoriated by the saddle.

(10) The word *harûn* has two meanings: when taken as a noun, it is the name of a famous race-horse (see

vol. II. page 519. note (2) ); and when employed as an adjective, it means *a horse that suddenly stops short*. It may be perceived that the poet meant to play upon this double signification.

(11) *Ikrish* is the Arabic name of four or five different plants. Here it may perhaps designate *triticum repens*. See Sontheimer's *Heil-und Nahrungsmittel von Ebn Baitar*, b. II. s. 204.

(12) The easy graceful style in which this last piece is written has disappeared in the translation.

(13) The doorway leading into the saloon where a great man gives audience is closed by a curtain; a chamberlain (*hajib*) posted there lifts up a corner of the curtain to let the visitor enter.—As the titles of Arabic books rarely indicate the subjects of which they treat, this work of Ibn at-Taâwîzi's may not perhaps have any reference to chamberlains. *Hajaba wa 'l-Hijab* may signify *the keepers of secrets and the veils under which secrets are hidden*.

(14) In the Arabic text of this letter, the third person singular is employed in place of the second. This is a customary form of respect.

(15) Hajar, a town of Arabia, in the province of Bahrain, was renowned for the abundance of its dates; whence the proverb: "Like him who carries dates to Hajar." It is equivalent to the English one of carrying coals to Newcastle.

(16) Imâd ad-dîn, who met al-Mubârak Ibn at-Taâwîzi at Damascus subsequently to the year 540 (A. D. 1146), says that he was a holy and virtuous *shâikh*, of an engaging aspect, agreeable in his manners, and pleasing in his discourse.—(*Kharîda*, MS. No. 1417, fol. 72 verso.)

### IBN AL-MUALLIM THE POET.

Abû 'l-Ghanâim Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Fâris Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Kâsim al-Wâsîti (*native of Wâsîl*) al-Hurthî, surnamed Najm ad-dîn (*star of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Muallim (*the son of the preceptor*), was a highly celebrated poet. His pieces are so replete with pathetic sentiment and natural delicacy of thought, that they seem to melt with tenderness. He was one of those whose poems got into wide circulation, whose name acquired popularity, and whose verses procured them public esteem, wealth, and influence. The composition of verses formed the occupation of his life, and the epoch in which he lived encouraged him to perseverance. His poems are chiefly amatory, eulogistic, or miscellaneous: the style is easy and the thoughts are just. The greater part of his poetry is devoted to the description of love, desire, affection, and passion: his verses seize the heart and possess a charm to which very few are insensible: people listen to them with pleasure and retain them in their mind; they communicate them one to

another, preachers quote them in their exhortations, and the assemblies listen with delight. I heard some *shaikhs* of al-Batâih (1) say that Ibn al-Muallim's poetry derived its touching effect from a single circumstance, namely: that every *kasida* which he composed was immediately committed to memory by the dervishes (*fakîrs*) belonging to the order which is called the *Rifâite*, after its founder the *shaikh* Ahmad Ibn ar-Rifâi (vol. I. p. 152), and, as they sung these poems at their (*religious*) concerts for the purpose of exciting their minds to a state of mystic rapture, the blessed influence of their sighs passed into and pervaded his poetry. I found them all convinced of this as of a fact which left no doubt on their minds. (*Be this as it may, I shall only observe*) in a summary manner, that his poems resemble elegies, and that no man with the least spark of love in his bosom can hear them without yielding to their charm and feeling his passion revive. A mutual jealousy subsisted between Ibn al-Muallim and Ibn at-Taâwizi (vol. III. p. 164); this led the latter to satirize our poet in a piece of verse rhyming in *j*, which, however, we need not insert. Ibn al-Muallim composed a long *kasida* which opens thus:

Bring back the camels which have hastened off with their fair burdens; when the mansion is no longer inhabited, it ceases to be home. In that valley resided (*a maid*) from whose access you were debarred, and whose pliant waist laughed to scorn the willow-branch. She betrayed her inconstancy at (*our*) first assignation (*by staying away*); who now can engage the fulfilment of a second promise? How can we meet whilst (*warriors*) of her tribe, sons of combat and lions of battle, surround her? (*warriors*) who long have borne the spear, and whose hands, methinks, were only formed to wield the pliant lance. They have girded the bright swords, and nought is seen in the nomadic camp, but the Indian cimeter and the pike. If I turned away, 'twas to avoid the observation of foes, not from satiety or indifference. Inhabitants of Nomân (2)! where are the days we passed at Tuwaila? (*Tell me where!*) inhabitants of Nomân!

In another poem he says:

How often did I say: "Beware (*the valley of*) al-Akik. for its gazelles (*maidens*) are 'wont to make its lions (*warriors*) their prey." But you chose to chase the tender fawns of Hijâz, and fortune being adverse, you became their prey.

He says again in another *kasida*:

O neighbours! the tears which flowed (*from my eyes were once plentiful and*) worthless, but (*separated as we now are*) by the hands of absence, (*they are exhausted and*) precious. Let us stop at the valley (*where my beloved resided*); stop there for an instant

short as that which is required to gird on a mantle or undo a camel's fetter. How often did I station there! Such moments I would cheaply purchase with my life; judge then if I would spare my wealth.

In another *kasida* he says:

(*I swore*) an oath by the refreshing moisture enclosed within the lips (*of my beloved*) and encircled with hidden pearls, that, when the camel-driver reached the hill from which al-Ozaib (3) could be seen, I should breathe my last. But who now will help me to expiate my oath? Had I not seen in that valley the traces of my beloved Laila and (*objects to awaken my slumbering*) passion, I should not have returned here like one possessed.

The motive which induced Ibn al-Muallim to compose the *kasida* (*from which this last passage is extracted*) was, that he, al-Ablah (*vol. III. p. 162*) and Ibn at-Taâwizi (*vol. III. p. 164*) having read the exquisite *kasida* of Surr-Durr's (*vol. II. p. 321*) which begins with this verse: *Is it thus that the love of all my companions is requited? Is such the general character of large-eyed gazelles* (maidens?) and of which we shall again speak in the life of Amid al-Mulk Muhammad, they were filled with admiration, and Ibn al-Muallim composed this poem in the same prosodiac measure; Ibn at-Taâwizi wrote, on the same occasion, a brilliant *kasida* which he sent to the sultan Salâh ad-din, who was then in Syria. It contains the praises of this prince and begins thus:

If your habits, when in love, resemble mine, let us stop our camels at the two sand-hills of Yabrin (4).

Al-Ablah also composed a *kasida*, but Ibn at-Taâwizi's is the best of the three. It has been handed down that Ibn al-Muallim related as follows: "When in Baghdad, I passed one day by the place where the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p. 96*) used to hold his sittings for the purpose of delivering "pious exhortations; and, seeing a dense crowd assembled, I asked a person "there what had brought them together? He replied: 'It is the preacher Ibn "al-Jauzi who is holding a sitting.' Not being aware that he did so, I forced "my way forward till I could see and hear him. He was then preaching, and, "in the midst of his exhortations, he pronounced these words: 'And it has been "well said by Ibn al-Muallim:

'The repetition of Thy name gives fresh pleasure to my ear; and Thy name, oft repeated, is charming to my sight.'



“ I was greatly struck with the coincidence of my presence and this citation of a verse from one of my own poems, but neither Ibn al-Jauzi nor any person in the assembly knew that I was there.” The verse of which he speaks belongs to one of his most celebrated *kasîdas*. In another poem, Ibn al-Muallim says :

My fortitude has been overcome by a person whom I dare not make known, and my heart's blood has been wantonly shed by one whom I dare not name. She was cruel, but my tongue had not power to reproach her; yet my heart had strength enough to suffer her tyranny.

On the day when the battle of the Camel was fought near Basra, the engagement had not yet begun, when (*the khalif*) Ali sent his cousin Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs with a letter to Talha and az-Zubair, in which he endeavoured to dissuade them from commencing hostilities. In giving Ibn al-Abbâs the letter, he said: “ Do not have any interview with Talha, for you will find him (*headstrong*) “ as the bull which twists up its nose; he will mount an unruly camel and say “ it is perfectly broken (5); but meet az-Zubair, for he is of a more tractable “ disposition, and say to him: ‘Thy maternal cousin (6) sends thee this message: Thou hast known me in Hijâz and thou wilt not know me in Irâk; “ “ what has occurred to change the former feelings (7)?” Ali was the first person who employed this expression, and Ibn al-Muallim inserted it in the following verse :

They offered him their salutations at al-Jazê (8). and they turned their backs on him at al-Ghaur (9); what has occurred to change their former feelings?

This verse is to be found in one of his long *kasîdas*; I took Ali's message from a work entitled *Nahj al-Balâgha* (*the highway of eloquence*) (10). It is needless to expatiate on the beauties (11) of Ibn al-Muallim's poetry, as his *diwân* is well known and in general circulation. He was born on the eve of the 17th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 501 (February, A. D. 1108), and he died at al-Hurth on the 4th of Rajab, A. H. 592 (June, A. D. 1196).—*Hurthi* means *belonging to al-Hurth*, which is a village in the district of Nahr Jaafar, at ten parasangs from Wâsit. It was his native place, and he continued to reside in it till his death.

- (1) See vol. I. page 133.
  - (2) See pages 133, 149, 163 of this volume.
  - (3) Al-Ozaib is the name borne by a number of springs situated in different parts of the Arabian desert.
  - (4) See page 129 of this volume.
  - (5) Or: "He will engage in difficulties and say that they are easily got over."
  - (6) Safiya, the mother of az-Zubair, and Abû Tâlib, the father of Ali, were brother and sister.
  - (7) The words *فيا عدا ما بدا* signify literally: What has passed away of that which has commenced?
- This proverbial expression is noticed by al-Maidâni, tom. II. p. 637 of Freytag's edition.
- (8) *Al-Jazâ* (*the valley*); some valley in Arabia is here meant.
  - (9) Al-Ghaur is the name given to the valley of the Jordan.
  - (10) *Nahj al-Baldgha* (*the highway of eloquence*). This work is stated by some writers to have been compiled by the *sharif* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali al-Murtada (v. II. p. 286), and that it consists of maxims and discourses uttered by Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; but the general opinion is unfavorable to its authenticity. Some large commentaries have been composed to elucidate this work.
  - (11) The word *fawdid*, here rendered by *beauties*, means: *notes, useful hints*.

## MUWAFFAK AD-DIN AL-IRBILI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Muhammad Ibn Kâid al-Irbili (*native of Arbela*), surnamed Muwaffak ad-din (*favoured in his religion*), was brought up at Arbela, the native place of his family, but he was born at Bahrain, (*whence his surname of al-Bahrâni*). This celebrated poet, who bore also the highest reputation as a grammarian, displayed equal talents in all the various species of poetry; he ranked with the most learned of the age in the sciences of prosody and rhyme; in poetical criticism he was one of the most acute, in distinguishing faults from beauties, one of the most skilful, and in testing poetical compositions, one of the most expert. Having acquired some knowledge of the sciences of the ancients (*the Greeks*), he drew up an explanation of (*the difficulties offered by*) the Book of Euclid. At Bahrain, when yet a boy, and before he had commenced his literary studies, he composed verses in imitation of the example offered by the Arabs of the desert. He was the master under whose tuition Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p. 556*), the author of the History of Arbela, studied the sciences connected with the art of poetry, and finished his education. This writer speaks of him in his work and

says, after enumerating his merits : “ Our *shaikh* Abu 'l-Haram Makki al-  
 “ Mâkisini the grammarian”—we shall give his life—“ had recourse to him for  
 “ the solution of numerous grammatical difficulties, and obtained answers to  
 “ all the questions which he proposed to him.” Muwaffak ad-din travelled to  
 Shahrozûr and resided there for some time ; he then removed to Damascus and  
 celebrated, in a long *kastîda*, the praises of the sultan Salâh ad-din. He left a  
*diwân* of good poetry and of elegant epistles. As a poet, he ranked with those  
 of his contemporaries whom we have already noticed in this work. One of his  
 productions is a *kastîda* composed in honour of Zain ad-din Abû 'l-Muzaffar  
 Yûsuf Ibn Zain ad-din, the prince of Arbela, of whom some mention has been  
 made in the life of his brother Muzaffar ad-din (*vol. II. p. 536*). This piece,  
 which is remarkable for its length and excellence, opens with the following  
 lines :

The mansion at al-Ghada has long suffered from decay, and travellers stop to shed  
 tears over its ruins. Its walls have mouldered away, and nought remains but the traces  
 which time has only spared to efface them hereafter. There I spent many (*happy*) days ;  
 but alas ! they have passed away ; the blessings of God be on those days and on that  
 dwelling ! The dark clouds of morning stopped over it and shed the contents of their  
 bosom upon its naked soil ; weeping over these ruins in the absence of my tears ! may  
 God recompense that service ! Say to those who resided here (1) : “ The ties with  
 “ which I bound you hold no longer (2) ; and yet I loved you, for (*in honour*) you were  
 “ a tree whose summit no bird could reach. Every night that passed, a guard stood  
 “ around it, their lances moist with gore (3) ; and when a transgressor stretched his  
 “ hand towards its branches, that hand was severed (*from the arm*) before it touched  
 “ the fruit. But the duty (*of defending your honour*) was at length relaxed, so that it  
 “ seemed to the spectator an unprotected and an easy prize. The soil (*of your glory*)  
 “ is fruitful, but I approach not there in search of pasture, unless its reserved grounds  
 “ be of difficult access ; God created me not to feed my flocks in a meadow easy of ap-  
 “ proach, where he may feed his flocks who will (4). When hope impelled me to  
 “ court your favours, despair stood before me and turned me away. My feelings to-  
 “ wards you are the last remains of that love which commenced with desire. Think  
 “ not that I shall return to you ; experience has removed the bandage from my eyes.  
 “ Know that Zain ad-din has granted me a favour which precludes me from desiring  
 “ any other.”

His father was a native of Arbela and followed the profession of a merchant ;  
 like the other merchants, he used to visit Bahrain and remain there for some  
 time, procuring pearls from the diving-beds ; it therefore happened that his son  
 al-Muwaffak Abû Abd Allah was born in that place. The child was taken to  
 Arbela, and, for the reason just given, the surname of al-Bahrâni was bestowed

upon it. Muwaffak ad-din al-Irbili died at Arbela on the eve of Sunday, the third of the latter Rabî, A. H. 585 (May, A. D. 1189), and was interred in the family cemetery, situated to the south of al-Bast. According to al-Mu-tarrizi, *al-bast* is a Persian word (*best*) arabicised, and signifies the *spreading out of the water at the mouth of a river* (5).—*Bahrâni* means *belonging to al-Bahrain*, which is a small town near Hajar (6). Al-Azhari (*vol. III. p. 49*) says that it received the name of al-Bahrain (*the two seas*) because (*it lies near the sea, and because*) a lake is situated near the villages of that place, at the entrances into (*the region called*) al-Ahsâ. The villages of Hajar are ten parasangs distant from the Green Sea (*the Persian Gulf*). The lake is three miles in length and as many in breadth; its waters are brackish; they never dry up, but remain stagnant. Abû Obaid (*vol. II. p. 486*) states that Abû Muhammad (*Yahya*) al-Yazidi (7) related the following anecdote: “(*The khalif*) al-Mahdi asked me and “al-Kisâi (*vol. II. p. 237*) why a native of al-Bahrain should be called a *Bahrâni*, “whereas a person belonging to al-Hisnain was designated as a *Hisni* (*and not “as a Hisnâni*). To this al-Kisâi replied that people disliked saying *Hisnâni* on “account of (*the disagreeable sound caused by*) the proximity of the two *n*’s; and “I answered for *Bahrâni*, that they preferred it to *Bahri*, because the meaning “of the latter term might be mistaken, bearing, as it does, another significance, namely: ‘*belonging to the sea.*’”—*Al-Bast* is the bed of a broad river passing through Arbela; the winter torrents and those of spring flow into it. It contains a great quantity of gravel.

(1) Literally: *to the neighbours*.

(2) Literally: *are rotten in their strands*. The strands of a rope are the smaller ropes of which it is composed. Ropes are generally made of three strands of twisted cords. The Arabic word is *kuwa* (قوى), the plural of *kuwa* (قوة).

(3) Literally: The points of their spurs sweated death.

(4) Throughout this piece the poet employs, with figurative signification, the pastoral terms employed by the nomadic Arabs. *Feeding flocks*, here signifies: *obtaining riches or favours*.

(5) At the end of the article the author informs us what the *Bast* of Arbela is.

(6) See page 171 of this volume.

(7) His life will be found in this work.

## IBN AD-DAHĤĤAN AL-FARADĤ.

Abū Shujāa Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shoaib, surnamed Fakhr ad-din (*glory of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn ad-Dahĥān (*the son of the oilman*), was a native of Baghdad, a calculator of inheritance-shares (*faradi*) (4), an arithmetician, and a philologist. Having left Baghdad, he proceeded to Mosul and attached himself to the vizir Jamāl ad-din al-Ispahāni (2); but he afterwards passed into the service of the sultan Salāh ad-din, and was nominated by him director of the government office at Maiyāfārikin. Being unable, in this post, to come to a good understanding with the governor of the city, he removed to Damascus and obtained a very inadequate pension, by which he dragged on a miserable existence. In the year 586 (A. D. 1190), he went to Egypt, and subsequently returned to Damascus, where he settled. He drew up, on the partition of inheritances, a number of works, containing tables, and, amongst other treatises, he composed a *Gharīb al-Hadīth* (*unusual expressions occurring in the Traditions*), the contents of which fill sixteen small volumes. In this production he employed certain letters by means of which any word sought for could be found out. His pen was more eloquent than his tongue. He compiled also a history and other works. Abū 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. page 556*) mentions him in the history of Arbela, and counts him among the strangers who visited that city: "He was," says he, "a man of learning and "solid information; he composed some good poetry." This historian then gives the verses composed by Ibn ad-Dahĥān in praise of the *shaikh* Taj ad-din Abū 'l-Yumn Zaid Ibn al-Hasan al-Kindi (*vol. I. p. 546*). The *kātib* Imād ad-din also speaks of him with high commendation in the *Kharīda*, and gives some fine passages from his poetry. One of these pieces is the following, composed on the grammarian Abū Muhammad Said Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn ad-Dahĥān, generally known by the surname of an-Nāsih (*the monitor*), who had lost one of his eyes; we have already spoken of this person (*vol. I. p. 574*):

Ad-Dahĥān is not far from having a son more deceitful (3) than himself in two ways. (*'Tis like*) one of the wonders of the sea, you may well relate it: (*the son has*) a single eye and a double face (4).

Another of the passages cited in the same work is the following, addressed to a person of rank on his recovery from sickness :

The people made a vow that on the day of thy recovery they would hold a fast ; I alone vowed not to hold one, but to break it. For I knew that the day of thy recovery would be a festival ; and on such days I disapprove of fasting even though done in consequence of a vow.

He composed also some fine poems for recitation. He was well skilled in astronomy and in the use of astronomical tables. His death took place at al-Hilla tas-Saifiya in the month of Safar, A. H. 590 (January-February, A. D. 1194). He had set out from Damascus to perform the pilgrimage, and, in returning, he took the road leading to Brâk ; but, on arriving at al-Hilla, his camel fell under him, and a piece of the wood of the saddle struck him in the face and killed him on the spot. His stature was low, his face smooth, his beard long, thin, and white, inclining to yellow. — Some say that he bore the surname of Burhân ad-Dîn (*proof of religion*). — Having already spoken of *al-Hilla* (vol. I. p. 634), we need not repeat our observations.

(1) See vol. I. p. 421.

(2) The life of the vizir Jamâl ad-dîn Abû Ja'far Muhammad al-Ispahâni will be found in this volume.

(3) There is here a play upon the words *adhan* and *dahhân*.

(4) I give the literal meaning of the Arabic text ; but, why a single eye should be a mark of deceit and duplicity, I cannot conceive.

## IBN ONAIN.

Abû 'l-Mahâsin Muhammad Ibn Nâ'ir Ibn al-Husain Ibn Onain al-Ansâri, sur-named Sharaf ad-dîn (*nobleness of religion*), was born in Damascus, but his family belonged to Kûfa. With him closed the series of our great poets ; his equal has never before appeared, and, towards the close of his life, he remained without a rival. In his poetical compositions, excellent as they are, he did not confine himself to one particular style ; on the contrary, he displayed his talents in all

the various branches of that art. His literary information was most extensive; the greater part of the poetry composed by the Arabs of the desert was familiar to him, and, as I have been informed, he could repeat from memory the contents of Ibn Duraid's (*vol. III. p. 38*) philological work, the *Jamhara*. He had a strong passion for satire and took pleasure in attacking the reputation of others; a long *kasida* of his, to which he gave the title of *Mikrād al-Aārād* (*the scissors to cut up reputations*), is directed against some of the chief men at Damascus. The recurrence of his invectives against individuals having obliged the sultan Salāh ad-din to banish him from that city, he composed, on leaving it, the following lines :

Why have you banished an honest man who never committed a crime, who never stole? Expel the *muwazzin* from your country, if all are to be expelled who speak the truth (1).

Ibn Onain travelled over various countries, such as Syria, Irāk, Mesopotamia, Adarbajjān, Khorāsān, Ghazna, Khowārezm, and Transoxiana; he next visited India, and afterwards passed into Yemen, which was then under the rule of Saif al-Islām Toghtūkin Ibn Aiyūb (*vol. I. p. 655*), the brother of the sultan Salāh ad-din. After residing there for some time, he proceeded to Damascus by way of Hijāz and Egypt. From Damascus he made frequent excursions to other cities and returned home again. In the year 623 (A.D. 1226) I saw him at Arbela, but did not obtain any thing from him (2); he had been sent there on a political mission by al-Malik al-Muazzam Sharaf ad-din ʿIsa, the son of al-Malik al-Aādil and sovereign of Damascus (*vol. II. p. 428*). He made but a short stay, and set out again. When in India, he wrote the following lines to his brother at Damascus: the second verse he borrowed from Abū ʿl-Alā ʿl-Maarri (*vol. I. p. 94*), but this he was well entitled to do (*if we take into consideration his own talents*):

Separated as we are, I forgive thy silence, for I know that thy letters could not find a bearer; and I pardon thy *taif* (3) its cruelty (*in not visiting my slumbers*), for, after travelling all night, it was still separated from me by a journey of many days (4).

How well that is expressed, and with what elegance he introduces the verse of Abū ʿl-Alā! The same thought recurs in different passages of his poetry; thus, in a long *kasida*, he says:

O zephyr that comest from Tall Râhit and the meadows of al-Hima! how hast thou found thy way to India?

He says also in a piece composed at Aden, a city in Yemen:

O my friends! I ask not your *taif* to visit (*my slumbers*); for, alas! how far is ad-Dailamiyât from Aden!

*Ad-Dailamiydt*, *Tall Râhit*, and *al-Hima* are places situated in the plain of Damascus. The verse in al-Maarri's poem, which precedes the one given here, runs as follows:

I asked how far it was from al-Akik to al-Hima? and I marvelled at the wide interval and the journey's length.

Al-Maarri borrowed this thought from Dibil Ibn Ali 'l-Khuzâi, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*col. I. p. 507*). Dibil composed a satire on the khalif al-Motasim billah, the son of Hârûn ar-Rashid, and, search having been made for him, he fled from Irâk to Egypt and took up his residence at Uswân (*Syene*), in the farthest extremity of that country. On this occasion he composed the verses which follow:

A man driven by his apprehensions to Uswân has not preserved the least trace of fortitude. I have fixed my abode in a spot which the eye cannot reach, and which the *taif* itself would be unable to attain, were it to undertake so fatiguing a journey.

We have been here led away from our subject, but one word brought on another.—Subsequently to the death of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, when al-Malik al-Aâdil took possession of Damascus (5), Ibn Onain was absent on the journey which he undertook in consequence of his banishment; but (*on learning the events which had taken place*), he directed his steps towards Damascus and wrote to al-Malik al-Aâdil the *kastâ* rhyming in *r*, wherein he requests permission to enter the city. In this poem he describes Damascus, relates the sufferings which he underwent in his peregrinations, and addresses a most touching appeal to that prince's commiseration. This piece, which is of the highest beauty, begins thus:

vis. [REDACTED] it harm the *taif* of my friends, were it to undertake a nocturnal journey (*and*  
vis. [REDACTED] Could it harm (*my foes*) were they to indulge me in sleep (6)?



In the beginning of the poem he describes Damascus, its gardens, rivers, and the delightful spots in its vicinity; he then alludes to his banishment in these terms:

I left it, but not willingly; I abandoned it, but not through hatred; and I journeyed forth, but not from choice. I seek an uncertain livelihood in distant lands; how strange that (*under so prosperous a reign as thy father's*) subsistence should not be obtained but by urgent prayers! I veil the face of my eulogiums, not to profane them; and, disguising (*my talents*), I tuck up the (*proud*) train of my expectations.

In the same piece he says, complaining of his sufferings during his absence from home:

To thee I complain of the pains of absence; time passed so slowly, that each of those days seemed to me a month; my existence never brightens up, the traces of love are never effaced from my heart, and the hand of slumber never touches my eyelids. My days are spent in an abode far from the luxuriant vegetation (*of Damascus*), and I pass the nights, debarred from access to the pure water (*of its streams*). Strange that all mankind should repose under the tutelary shade of these (*princes*), and that I alone should be an outcast in the desert!

This is a most beautiful *kasîda*, and it surpasses, in my opinion, Abû Bakr Ibn Ammâr al-Andalusî's (*vol. III. p. 429*) *kasîda* in the same rhyme and measure, which commences thus:

Pass round the glass, for the zephyr has come.

When al-Malik al-Aâdil read Ibn Onain's poem, he authorised him to enter Damascus. On arriving there, the poet said:

I satirised the grandees in Jilîk (7), and I appalled the lower ranks by my invectives against the higher. Driven from it I was, but I returned despite them all.

He displayed great acuteness in the composition and solution of enigmas, and, when I sent any to him by letter, he resolved them immediately and wrote me back an answer in verse, much finer than the question was. As he had no inducement for collecting his poetical works into a *diwân*, he never undertook that task, so that now his pieces are found dispersed in the hands of different persons. A native of Damascus made a small collection of his poems, but this *diwân* does not contain the tenth part of what he composed, and was then per-

ceive in it some things which are not his. Ibn Onain was a man of great wit, gaiety, and humour. One of his *kasidas*, in which he speaks of his travels and mentions his journey towards the East, contains the following admirable verse :

I penetrate into (8) the heart of the East, as if I were searching in its recesses for the lustre of renown.

But, in a word, his poetry abounds with beauties. In one of the months of the year 649 (A. D. 1254-2), being then in Cairo, I had a dream (9) in which I saw Ibn Onain holding a broad, red-coloured sheet of paper, on which were inscribed about fifteen verses. "I composed these verses," said he, "for al-Malik al-Muzaffar (*vol. II. p. 394*), the sovereign of Hamât." That prince was also dead at the time of which I am speaking. The assembly where we were seemed to be numerous, and he read the verses to us. One of them struck me greatly and I repeated it over and over in my dream ; when I awoke, it was impressed on my memory and I give it here :

To recite verses is not laudable, unless he whose praises they extol be deserving.

This verse is not to be found in his poems. In the life of Fakhr ad-din ar-Râzi (*vol. II. p. 654*), we have spoken of him and his poem which rhymes in *f* ; we have also mentioned him in the life of Saif al-Islâm (*vol. I. p. 655*). High favour was shown to him by different sovereigns, and he filled the post of vizir at Damascus, towards the end of al-Malik al-Muazzam's reign and during the reign of al-Malik an-Nâsir, that prince's son. On the accession of al-Malik al-Ashraf, he resigned his office, and, having retired to his house, he continued to reside there and never again occupied a situation under government. His birth took place at Damascus on Monday, the 9th of Shaabân, A. H. 549 (October, A. D. 1154), and he died in that city on Monday evening, the 20th of the first Rabi, A. H. 630 (January, A. D. 1233). The next morning, he was interred in the mosque founded by himself at Ard al-Mizza (*the land of al-Mizza*), which is a village at the gate of Damascus. Ibn ad-Dubaihi (*vol. III. p. 404*) states that he heard him say : "We came originally from a place in Kûfa called Masjid "Bani 'n-Najjâr (*the mosque of the Najjârides*), and we drew our descent from "the Angars." Subsequently to my copying this passage, I visited the tomb of Bilâl, Muhammad's *muwazzin* (10), which is situated in the cemetery lying

outside that gate of Damascus which is called Bâb as-Saghir. On coming out of the chapel erected over the grave, I observed a large tomb near the door (*or near the Gate*), and, being informed that it was Ibn Onain's, I stopped and invoked on him the mercy of God.

(1) When the *muwazzin* calls the people to prayer, he proclaims that there is but one God and that Muhammad is the apostle of God. It is to this the poet alludes.

(2) The author means that he did not learn any of Ibn Onain's verses from that poet's own lips.

(3) See vol. I. page xxxvi.

(4) Literally: *by stations*.

(5) The occupation of Damascus by al-Malik al-Aādil took place A. H. 592 (A. D. 1195).

(6) The poet means: Could it harm my jealous foes were they to allow me to sleep, so that I might see the *taif* in my dreams.

(7) *Jillik* was one of the names given to Damascus. See vol. I. page 195.

(8) Literally: I split.

(9) The belief of Moslems in dreams is well known.

(10) Bilāl Ibn Rabāh, an Abyssinian *mawla* to Abū Bakr, embraced Islamism at an early period and fought in all Muhammad's battles. He was the only *muwazzin* whom Muhammad ever employed to call the people to prayer, and he accompanied him in all his expeditions and sojournings. Bilāl died at Damascus, towards A. H. 20 (A. D. 641), aged sixty-four years.

### AL-KAIM AL-ŌBAIDI.

Abū 'l-Kâsim Muhammad, called also Nizâr, was the son of Abū Muhammad Obaid Allah, surnamed al-Mahdi, the same who established an empire in Maghrib. Abū 'l-Kâsim bore the title of al-Kâim (*the maintainer*). We have already spoken of his father (*vol. II. page 77*), and of his son al-Mansûr Ismail (*vol. I. page 218*). Having been solemnly proclaimed by his father as the next successor to the throne of Ifrikiya and the adjoining country, his name was inscribed on all the official papers and the umbrella (*of state*) was borne over his head. On the death of his father (A. H. 322, A. D. 934), the people renewed to him their oath of allegiance. He had been twice sent by his father into Egypt; the first time, he set out on the 18th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 301

(July, A. D. 914), and, having taken possession of Alexandria and al-Faiyûm, he levied the land-tax (*kharâj*) throughout the greater part of Egypt and oppressed the people (1). In the second expedition, he reached Alexandria in the month of the first Rabi, A. H. 307 (August, A. D. 919), with a numerous army. The officer who governed there in the name of the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Muktadir having retired at his approach, al-Kâim took possession of the city and marched to al-Jiza with an immense body of troops. Intelligence of these events having reached Baghdad, al-Muktadir provided Mûnis al-Khâdim (*the eunuch*) with men and money, and sent him to repel the invader. Mûnis hastened by forced marches to Old Cairo, and found, on his arrival, that al-Kâim had obtained possession of al-Jiza, al-Ushmûnain and the greater part of as-Said (*Upper Egypt*). The two armies then met, and a number of desperate conflicts ensued; but al-Kâim having lost a great portion of his men and horses by the plague and by famine, departed for Ifrikiya, and was pursued to some distance by the Egyptian army. He entered al-Mahdiyya on Tuesday, the 3rd of the month of Rajab, the same year (November, A. D. 919). It was under his reign that Abû Yazid Makhlad Ibn Kaidâd the Kharijite revolted (*against the Shîite dynasty*). To give the particulars of this insurrection would lead us too far; and, besides, we have already related, in the life of al-Mansûr (*vol. I. page 219*), what happened to this rebel and how he died a prisoner (2). Al-Kâim was born at Salamiya (*vol. II. p. 79*), in the month of Muharram, A. H. 280 (March-April, A. D. 893),—some say in 282, and others again in 277.—He was taken to Maghrib by his father, and he died on Sunday, the 13th of Shawwâl, A. H. 334 (May, A. D. 946), at al-Mahdiyya, where Abû Yazid held him blockaded. Ismail, al-Kâim's son, concealed his father's death lest the insurgent chief, who was then in the neighbourhood, besieging the city of Sûsa, should learn the event and conceive fresh hopes of success. He therefore left all things as they were, and distributed donations and presents in abundance. He avoided also assuming the title of *khalif*, and headed his letters with these words: From the emir Ismail, the designated successor to the command of the Moslems (3).

(1) He was then obliged to evacuate Egypt by Mûnis the eunuch, who had been sent against him by the *khalif* al-Muktadir.—(*Ibn Khaldûn*.)

(2) Ibn Khaldûn gives a full account of Abû Yazîd's revolt in his notice on the Fatimides, and again, in his History of the Berbers.

(3) Literally: The holder of the covenant of the Moslems. That is: the person to whom the Moslems engaged their fealty as successor to the throne.

### AL-MOTAMID IBN ABBAD.

Al-Motamid ala 'llah (*the supported by God*) Abû 'l-Kâsim Muhammad, the son of al-Motamid billah Abû Amr Abbâd, the son of az-Zâfir al-Muwaiyad billah Abû 'l-Kâsim Muhammad, *kâdi* of Seville, the son of Abû 'l-Walid Ismail, the son of Kuraish, the son of Abbâd, the son of Amr, the son of Aslam, the son of Amr, the son of Attâf, the son of Noaim, a member (*by descent*) of the tribe of Lakhm (*al-Lakhmi*) and a descendant of an-Nomân Ibn al-Mundir, the last king of al-Hira (4), was sovereign of Cordova, Seville, and the portion of the Spanish peninsula situated in the proximity of these two cities. It was of him and his father that a certain poet said :

The sons of Abbâd, the progeny of the Mundirs (there is an origin!) have added fresh lustre to the renown of their ancestors. Glory has engendered no other offspring but these heroes ; the children of glory are few.

The authority which this dynasty acquired in Spain originated in the following manner:—Noaim and his son Attâf were the first of the family who passed from the East into Spain ; they were natives of al-Arish, an ancient city which marks the point of separation between Syria and Egypt, and is situated on the edge of the Syrian desert. (*On their arrival in Spain*) they settled at Tûmin, a village in that district of the province of Seville which is called Tushâna (*Tocina*). Attâf left issue, and one of his descendants, the *kâdi* az-Zâfir Muhammad Ibn Ismail, was the first of the family in that country who emerged from obscurity. Having risen to the post of *kâdi* at Seville, he acted towards the people with such justice and moderation as drew on him the attention of every eye and the love of every heart. When the sovereign of Cordova, Yahya Ibn Ali Ibn Hammûd al-Ha-

sani, surnamed al-Motali, who was a prince of a tyrannical disposition, laid siege to Seville, the chief men of that city went to the *kādi* Muhammad and said to him: "Seest thou not what this tyrant hath brought down upon us, and how he hath destroyed the property of the people? Arise then with us, and let us go forth against him; we will give thee the sovereignty over us and concede to thee the supreme authority." He accepted their proposal, and they sallied forth against Yahya. That prince, who was then intoxicated with wine, mounted on horseback to encounter them, and met with his death. The power of Muhammad Ibn Ismail being thus established, he took possession of Cordova and other places. The history of his proceedings with the pretended Hishām Ibn al-Hakam is well known: Hishām Ibn al-Hakam, the last Omaiyide sovereign of Spain, had allowed al-Mansūr Ibn Abi Aāmīr not only to acquire an absolute authority over him, but to exclude him from all communication with the public; no orders issued from the palace but such as were dictated by that minister; the prince was debarred from the exercise of power and deprived of all the attributes of royalty, with the exception of the imperial title and the mention of his name in the *khotba* (*public prayer*) offered up from the pulpits. Nothing was then heard of him for upwards of twenty years, and various changes had taken place when the *kādi* Muhammed was informed, some time after his accession and the reduction of the (*neighbouring*) cities under his rule, that Hishām Ibn al-Hakam was in a mosque at Kalāt Rabāh (*Calatrava*). He immediately sent for him, and having placed the supreme authority in his hands, he constituted himself the vizir of this (*mock sovereign*). Alluding to this circumstance, the *hāfiz* Abū Muhammad Ibn Hazm az-Zāhiri (*vol. II. p. 267*) says, in his *Nūka tal-Arūs*: "I declare solemnly (2) that the like of such an event never occurred: upwards of twenty years had elapsed since the death of Hishām Ibn al-Hakam, surnamed al-Muwayyad, when there appeared a man called Khalaf al-Khadri (3), who gave himself out for that prince, and, being proclaimed sovereign, the public prayer was offered up in his name, at different periods, from all the pulpits of Spain. He caused great bloodshed; armies encountered in battle on his account, and during more than twenty years (4) he persevered in his pretensions. The *kādi* Muhammad Ibn Ismail held the rank of vizir under him and possessed all the authority. Things continued in this state till the false Hishām's death, when the *kādi* assumed the supreme

"power." (*Muhammad Ibn Isma'il*) was versed in jurisprudence and literature; he possessed a perfect knowledge of the means by which empires are governed, and he continued to reign with absolute authority till his death. This event took place on Sunday, the 29th of the first Jumâda, A.H. 433 (January, A.D. 1042). He was interred in the citadel of Seville. Some say that he died towards the year 450; different dates also are assigned to his accession; Imâd ad-din mentioning, in his *Kharîda*, the year 444 (A.D. 1023-4), and others giving the year 424. God best knows the truth in all these statements! — On the death of Muhammad the *kâdi*, his son Abû Amr Abbâd, surnamed al-Motadid billah, succeeded to the throne. Speaking of this prince, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Bassâm (*vol. II. p. 304*) says, in his *Dakhîra*: "Then the authority passed to Abbâd, in the year 433; he at first bore the surname of Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*glory of the empire*), and afterwards that of al-Motadid (5). He was the axle of the mill-stone of affliction (*for his foes*) and the utmost limit of torment: think of a man whom neither high nor low could withstand, from whom neither the near nor the distant could escape; a mighty prince who consolidated the power which had been shaken, a lion who devoured the fawn whilst it was reposing (6), a precipitate (*politician*) against whom even the astutest had to be on their guard, and a dastard of whom the bravest warriors stood in awe; misguided, he followed the right path; obstinate, he abandoned his resolutions; even when he spared, he assaulted, and the people (*were his*) partisans. Yet, with all this inconsistency of conduct (7), he established his authority so that he extended his power, enlarged his kingdom, multiplied his troops, and increased his means. Besides this, he was gifted with a handsome face, a body perfect in its proportions, a colossal stature, a liberal hand (8), penetration of intellect, presence of mind, and a veracity which did him honour. By these qualities he surpassed all his contemporaries; and moreover, before ambition led him to aspire after power, he had looked into literature with a close glance and an acute apprehension; so that by his quick intelligence, he acquired an abundant stock of information, noted down without serious study, without advancing far into its depths, without extensive reading, and without indulging in the passion of collecting books. With these accomplishments, he derived from his genius the talent of speaking in an ornate style. He composed also

“pieces of verse remarkable for beauty, containing thoughts which the natural turn of his disposition enabled him to attain, expressing perfectly well what he wished to say, and displaying such excellence as caused them to be copied by literary men. To these brilliant qualities he united a liberal disposition, wherein he rivalled the (*copious*) rain-clouds. The history of al-Motadid, in all his actions and his various projects, is singular and striking. He was addicted to women, of whom he had great numbers and of various races; in this indulgence he reached a limit which none of his contemporaries ever attained, and, by its frequency and his natural vigour, he begot a numerous progeny. It is said that he had about twenty sons and as many daughters.” This writer gives some pieces composed by him, of which this is one :

When the night was washing from its eyes the collyrium (*of darkness*) with the water of morning, and the zephyr blew mildly, we drank an old (*liquor, in colour*) like gold, in perfume strong, and in body weak (9).

In the life of Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ammār (*vol. III. page 130*), we have given some extracts from the two *kasidas* composed by that vizir in honour of al-Motadid (10); one of these poems rhymes in *r* and the other in *m*. Al-Motadid is thus described in a piece of verse composed by his son al-Motamid :

A generous prince, bestowing thousands before the request is made, and who offers excuses, thinking his gifts too small. His hand is kissed by every mighty man, and were it not for its moisture (*its liberality*), we should say it is a rock.

He continued in the glory of power and the enjoyment of pleasure, till he was attacked by a quinsy which soon carried him off. On perceiving his death draw near, he ordered a singer to be brought in, with the intention of drawing an omen from the first words of the piece which might be sung, and the singer commenced with this verse :

We kill time, knowing that it will kill us; mix then the (*wine*) with the water of the cloud and give us to drink.

From these words he drew a bad omen, and effectively, he only survived five days. His death took place at Seville, on Monday, the first of the latter Jumāda, A. H. 461 (March, A. D. 1069), and he was interred there the next day. His son



al-Motamid alā 'llah Abū 'l-Kāsim Muhammad succeeded to the throne. Speaking of al-Motamid, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ali Ibn al-Kattāa (*vol. II. p. 265*) says, in his *Lamah al-Mulah*: "The most liberal, the most hospitable, the most munificent, "and the most powerful of all the princes who ruled in Spain. His court was "the halting place of travellers (11), the rendezvous of poets, the point towards which all hopes were turned, and the haunt of men of talent; so much "so, that, at the door of no other contemporary prince were to be found so "many eminent poets and literary men as were assembled in his presence (12)." Ibn Bassām says, in the *Dakhīra*: "Al-Motamid Ibn Abbād left some pieces of "verse (*beautiful*) as the bud when it opens to disclose the flower; and, had "the like been composed by persons who made of poetry a profession and a "merchandise, they would still have been considered as charming, admirable, "and singularly original." One of these pieces is the following:

Thou hast often shunned me, though sometimes events induced thee to treat me kindly. The time of our separation seemed (*dismal*) as night, and the moments of our meeting (*bright*) as the moon.

This idea bears some relation to that which a poet has expressed in the following verses of a poem:

The light of morning removed (*the cover of darkness*) off her face, and the mole of her cheek arose, imbued with moisture. The mole on her cheek seemed like the moment of (*a mistress's*) displeasure in the time of love.

Having resolved to send his concubines from Cordova to Seville, he set out with them and escorted them from night-fall till morning. He then bade them farewell and returned back, reciting some verses, two of which ran as follows:

I travelled with them whilst the robe of night was of one uniform colour, but, when it appeared striped (*by the rays of dawn*), I stopped to say farewell, and my hand saluted them as the morning salutes the stars (13).

This idea is highly beautiful. He said also on the subject of his bidding them farewell:

Early in the morning, when I stopped to say farewell, standards were waving in the court of the castle, and we wept blood, so that, by the shedding of red tears, our eyes appeared like wounds.

This is an imitation of the thought which a poet has thus expressed :

I wept blood, so that a person said: "This youth is bleeding from the nose with the  
" lids of his eyes."

A similar idea occurs also in a piece of al-Abiwardi's which we have already given (*p. 149 of this volume*). The following verses are by al-Motamid :

Were the eyes of delators not fixed upon me, and did I not fear that the guards  
might tell, I should have made you a visit to retribute your cruelty (14), even were I to  
creep on my face or walk on my head.

He addressed the following lines from his palace at Cordova to his boon-companions who had made a morning party at az-Zahrâ, inviting them to come and carouse with him that evening :

On your account, the palace envied az-Zahrâ, and I swear by my existence and yours  
that it was not in the wrong! At az-Zahrâ you rose as suns to light the day; appear  
near us as moons to light the night.

This idea is novel and striking.—"*Az-Zahrâ* (15) is one of the most admirable  
" edifices in the world; its erection was commenced in the beginning of the  
" year 325 (November, A. D. 936) by Abû 'l-Mutarrif Abd ar-Rahmân, sur-  
" named an-Nâsir, (the son of Muhammad, the son of Abd Allah,) who was  
" one of the Omaiide sovereigns of Spain. It lies at the distance of four miles  
" and two-thirds from Cordova. Its length from east to west is two thousand  
" seven hundred cubits, and its breadth, from north to south (16), one thou-  
" sand five hundred cubits; the number of its pillars is four thousand three  
" hundred, and it has upwards of fifteen thousand doors. An-Nâsir divided  
" the revenue of the state into three portions; one was given to the troops,  
" another deposited in the treasury, and the third spent on the construction of  
" the Zahrâ. The taxes of Spain at that time amounted to five millions four  
" hundred and eighty thousand dinars, besides seven hundred and sixty-five  
" thousand dinars produced by the tolls (17). The Zahrâ is one of the most  
" colossal buildings erected by man, the most splendid and the most re-  
" nowned (18)." The preceding indications are taken from Ibn Bashkuwâl's  
history of Spain.—The celebrated poet Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Mu-

hammad al-Lakhmī ad-Dānī felt a natural partiality for the Abbād family in consequence of the patronage which he had received from al-Motamid (19); and he celebrated the praises of that prince in a number of beautiful pieces. In one of these poems, he mentions al-Motamid's four sons, namely: ar-Rashīd Obaid Allah, ar-Rādi Yāzīd, al-Māmūn al-Fath, and al-Mūtamin. In this piece he says, with the utmost elegance:

(*He is*) a helper in want, an assister in adversity; in armour, he appals; in silks, he excites admiration. (*His are*) beauty, beneficence, rank, and power; (*he is*) like the noontide sun, the (*refreshing*) cloud, the lightning (*which announces the genial rains*) and the thunder (*which threatens*). With his blood he raised a monument of glory, and he enlarged that edifice by sons, mighty and resolute; four in number, like the temperaments, combined to maintain in health the body of renown and the nobleness of ancient descent.

Notwithstanding the illustrious deeds and the generosity of this family, it could not escape detraction: thus, Abū 'l-Hasan Jaafar Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Hājj al-Lūrki (20) said of them:

Mourn for the world and for the death of beneficence, since beneficence subsists not in the family of Abbād! I passed three months with them as a guest, yet never obtained a dinner; I then left them and received no provisions for my journey.

At that time, Alphonso (VI.), the son of Ferdinand, the sovereign of Castile and king of the Spanish Franks, had become so powerful that the petty Moslim kings of that country were obliged to make peace with him and pay him tribute. He then took Toledo on Tuesday, the first of Safar, A. H. 478 (May, A. D. 1085), after an arduous siege. That city belonged to al-Kādir billah Ibn Zī 'n-Nūn. In allusion to this event, the following verses were pronounced by Abū Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Faraj Ibn Ghazlūn al-Yahsubi, generally known by the appellation of *Ibn al-Asāl* (العسال) at-Tulaitili, and of whom Ibn Bashkuwāl speaks in his *Silat* (21):

Hasten the speed of your horses, inhabitants of Spain! none can dwell in quiet there unless by chance. The beads (*fortresses*) drop off from the ends of its necklace, and soon, I think, the necklace of the peninsula will be broken in the middle. He who resides near evil should not think himself secure from its attacks; how could a man live in a basket of snakes?

Al-Motamid Ibn Abbād surpassed all the other kings in greatness of power and extent of empire, yet he also paid tribute to Alphonso. After the capture

of Toledo, the latter conceived hopes of getting that prince's kingdom into his possession, and therefore refused to receive the tribute. At the same time, he sent him a threatening message, ordering him to deliver up his fortresses; on which condition, he might retain the open country as his own. These words provoked al-Motamid to such a degree, that he struck the ambassador and put to death all those who accompanied him. Alphonso had set out with the intention of besieging Cordova when he received intelligence of this event, and he immediately returned to Toledo that he might make every necessary preparation for the siege (of *Seville*) (22). When the *shaikhs* of Islamism and its doctors were informed of his project, they assembled and said: "Behold how the Moslim cities fall into the hands of the Franks whilst our sovereigns are engaged in warring against each other! If things continue in this state, the Franks will subdue the entire country." They then went to the *kâdi* Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Adham, and conferred with him on the disasters which had befallen the Moslims and on the means by which they might be remedied. Every person had something to say, but it was finally resolved that they should write to Abû Yakûb Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin, the king of the *al-Mulath-thimân* (23) and sovereign of Morocco, imploring his assistance. (We shall give the life of Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin.) The *kâdi* then waited on al-Motamid and informed him of what had passed. Al-Motamid concurred with them on the expediency of such an application, and told the *kâdi* to bear the message himself to Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin. The *kâdi* hesitated at first, but as the prince insisted, he retired, imploring of the Almighty that things might turn out well. Having written to the sovereign of Morocco, acquainting him with what had taken place, he despatched the letter by one of his slaves. When Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin received this communication, he set out in all haste for Ceuta; and the *kâdi*, with a numerous company, proceeded to the same place for the purpose of meeting that monarch and representing to him the situation of the Moslims. Yûsuf then gave orders that the army should be taken over to Algeziras, which is a city in the territory of Spain, whilst he himself remained at Ceuta, a city in the territory of Morocco and lying opposite to Algeziras. He recalled from (the city of) Morocco the troops which he had left there, and when all were assembled, he sent them across to Spain, and followed with a body of ten thousand men. Al-Motamid, who had also assembled an army, went to meet him; and the Moslims,

on hearing the news, hastened from every country for the purpose of combating the infidels. On receiving intelligence of these events, Alphonso, who was then at Toledo, took the field with forty thousand horse, exclusive of the other troops which came to join him. He wrote also a long and threatening letter to Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin, who inscribed on the back of it these words: *What will happen thou shalt see!* and returned it. On reading the answer, Alphonso was filled with apprehension, and observed that this was a man of resolution. The two armies then advanced and met at a place called az-Zallâka, near the town of Batalyaus (*Badajoz*), where they formed in line. The Moslims gained the victory, and Alphonso fled with a few others, after witnessing the extermination of his troops. Some state that this engagement took place on a Friday, in one of the first ten days of the month of Ramadân, A.H. 479, but the true date is the 15th of Rajab of that year (26th October, A.D. 1086). This year was adopted in Spain as the commencement of a new era, and was called *the year of az-Zallâka*. The battle of az-Zallâka is one of the most celebrated in history. Al-Motamid on that day displayed the greatest bravery, and numerous wounds in his face and body attested his undaunted courage. The beasts of burden and the arms of the enemy fell into the hands of the Moslims. The emir Yûsuf (*Ibn Tâshifin*) then returned to Africa, and al-Motamid to his kingdom. The ensuing year, Yûsuf passed into Spain, and al-Motamid having gone to meet him, he laid siege to a fortress belonging to the Franks, but was unable to take it. Having resumed his march, he went across to Granada, and Abd Allah Ibn Buluggin, the lord of that city, came out to receive him. Abd Allah then re-entered Granada with the intention of sending the customary presents (*to his powerful visitor*), but Yûsuf penetrated perfidiously into the city, expelled Abd Allah, and proceeded to the palace, where he found an immense quantity of money and (*military*) stores. After this exploit he returned to Morocco, his mind deeply impressed with the beauty of Spain, its magnificence, its edifices, its gardens, the rich productions of its soil, and those various (*sources of*) riches which did not exist in Morocco, a country inhabited by (*rude*) Berbers and wild uncivilised Arabs. The persons whom he admitted into his intimate society then began to extol Spain in his presence, to represent to him the facility with which he might obtain possession of so fine a country, and to irritate him against al-Motamid, by repeating things which, as they pretended, that prince had said. Yûsuf's feel-

ings towards al-Motamid thus underwent a complete change, and he at length marched against him. On arriving at Ceuta, he sent his army across to Spain and placed it under the orders of Sir Ibn Abi Bakr al-Andalusi (24). This general (*after achieving various conquests*) reached Seville and besieged it vigorously. Al-Motamid, who was then in the city, displayed the greatest firmness and bravery, encountering every danger (25) with unheard-of courage. The inhabitants, overcome with consternation and penetrated with terror, wandered (*in despair*) through the streets; some escaped by swimming across the river, and others cast themselves down from the battlements of the walls. At length, on Sunday, the 20th of Rajab, A. H. 484 (Sept. A. D. 1091), the army of the emir Yûsuf burst into the city, spread devastation through every quarter, and deprived the people of all they possessed. The inhabitants, concealing their nudity with their hands, fled from their houses, and al-Motamid, with his family, were taken prisoners. He had already lost two of his sons; one of them, al-Mâmûn, commanded at Cordova as his father's lieutenant, but being besieged there (*by the Almoravides*), he was taken and executed. Ar-Râdi, the other son, met with a similar fate at Ronda, a strong fortress in which he also commanded as his father's lieutenant. Al-Motamid composed a number of elegies on their death. This prince was no sooner made prisoner than they bound him in chains and embarked him with his family on board a ship. Ibn Khâkân (*vol. II. p. 455*) says, in his *Kalâid al-Ikiyân*, on coming to this part of (*al-Motamid's history*): "Then he and his family were borne off in the lofty (*masted*) coursers (*of the sea*), enclosed therein as if they were dead; they for whom, but a short time before, "a palace was not sufficiently ample, and by whose presence the age was filled "with joy. The people assembled on the banks of the river, shedding tears "as the clouds of morning (*shed rain*), and (*the exiles*) departed with lamentations "to escort them, and the manifestation of general grief failed them not." Alluding to this event, Abû Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Isa ad-Dâni, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Labbâna (26), expressed his feelings in a long *kasîda*, which we need not insert, and which begins thus:

The heavens shed tears, evening and morning, over the noble princes, the sons of Abbâd.

Describing the same event, the poet Abû Muhammad Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn

Hamdis (*vol. II. p. 160*) composed a long piece of verse which contained these lines :

When you left us and bore off in your hands generosity itself, whilst the mountains of your (*power*) were shaken to their basis (27), I raised my voice and exclaimed : The day of judgment has come ! behold the firm mountains pass away (28) !

The idea of this last verse is taken from the following lines composed by Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p. 44*) on the death of Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Furât (*vol. II. p. 358*) :

The human race are now all on a level ; perfection is dead and the vicissitudes of time exclaim : Where are the (*great*) men (29) ? Behold Abû 'l-Abbâs on his bier ! arise and see how the mountains are removed from their places.

It has been said that Ibn al-Motazz recited these verses on the death of the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Wahb, and this statement I have since found confirmed.—Al-Motamid pronounced the following verses one day, whilst suffering from the weight and tightness of his chains :

For the shade of my once triumphant banners I have received in exchange the ignominy of fetters and the weight of chains. The irons which I once used were the pointed lance and the sharp, thin, and polished sword ; but both are now turned into rusty (*chains*), grasping my leg as lions grasp their prey.

They then bore him to Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin, at Morocco, and that emir sent him to Aghmât and imprisoned him there for life. Ibn Khâkân says : “ Torn from  
“ his country and stripped of his possessions, he was carried off in a ship and  
“ deposited on the (*African*) shore as a corpse is deposited in its place of burial ;  
“ the pulpits of his (*states*) and the throne (30) deplored his absence ; those who  
“ once visited his table or his bed of sickness went near him no more ; he re-  
“ mained alone in his grief, uttering deep-drawn sighs and pouring forth tears  
“ as a conduit pours forth water ; none were left to console him in his solitude,  
“ and, instead of the bowers (*which he once frequented*), he now saw nought but  
“ strangers (31). Deprived of consolation, hopeless of the approach (*of friends*),  
“ debarred from the aspect of joy, he called to mind his native abodes, and that  
“ thought made him long for home ; he saw in imagination the splendour of his  
“ (*court*), and that image filled him with delight ; his fancy showed him his

“ dwelling desolate, the palace bewailing its (*former*) inhabitants, its heavens  
 “ (*extent*) darkened by the absence of its full moons (*beautiful women*), the guards  
 “ and the companions of his evening hours no longer there.”— His imprisonment inspired Abû Bakr ad-Dâni (*Ibn al-Labbâna*) with the celebrated *kasida* which begins thus :

Each thing has its appointed hour; each wish, a time for its fulfilment. Fortune has been immersed in the dye of the camelion, and the colours of its various states are always changing. We are chessmen in the hands of fortune, and sometimes the pawn may check the king (32). Cast off the world and its inhabitants; the earth is now tenantless; men (*worthy of the name*) are dead. Tell the creatures who still dwell on earth, that the treasure of the world, the exalted prince, is hidden at Aghmât.

This is a long poem, containing about fifty verses. In the year 485 (A. D. 1092) he (*Ibn al-Labbâna*) composed at Aghmât the following piece on al-Motamid's imprisonment (33) :

Smell this nosegay of salutations; by it I break the seal of that musk (*condolence*) from which thou hadst been precluded. Let me know indirectly, if thou canst not do it openly, that thou who gavest happiness canst yet taste of it thyself. When I think of those times which for thee passed over so brightly, the light of morning becomes darkness for me. I marvel how the milky way, on seeing thee, a sun, eclipsed, could ever rise again in the form of stars. Though our affliction for thy loss was great, we found thee a still greater affliction (*for thy loss*): a spear rushing to the charge till it was shivered, a sword dealing its blows till it was broken. The gush of the rain-cloud pouring down its showers equals not (*in abundance the gifts once bestowed by*) Muhammad and his sons. A friend dear to my heart wept for the family of Abbâd; dearly I love him for these words: “Perhaps a (*ship*) appearing in the horizon may bring them near “ (*to us*); perhaps it may! (34) When their morning (*their presence*) dawned upon us, “ we praised (*our diligence in*) travelling (*even*) by night (*to reach their court*); but since we “ have lost them, we travel in darkness. We once contemplated their park (*empire*) surrounded with glory; but now that pasture-ground is barren, and that park is deserted. “ Time hath clothed their dwelling with a raiment, the warp and woof of which are “ formed by the rains (35). Their palaces are no longer inhabited; nought is seen “ therein but the fallow (*door*) walking around the statues (36) still erect. The echo “ answers the screech-owl in those halls where the birds once sung responsive to the “ voice of the musician. It is now as if no human being had ever resided there; as if “ ambassadors had never found therein a crowded court; as if (*hostile*) troops had “ never found there an army (*to repel them*).”

In the same piece the poet says :

On departing from thy kingdom, I wore the aspect of a wealthy man; but now, through grief for thee, I seem like one who has lost all. (*What*) a misfortune (*was*



*yours*! it cast down the luminaries from their exalted sphere, and left not a mark to distinguish the region of beneficence. Oppressed by the narrowness of the earth, I think that I and it have been formed for each other as the bracelet is formed for the arm (37). I have lamented thee so that grief hath left me neither tears nor blood to weep thy loss withal. I shall persevere in that course, and, if I die, I shall leave my conduct as an example for other mourners. For thee the rain wept, the wind tore open its bosom, and the thunder uttered thy name in its moanings; the lightning rent its robe, the day put on the raiment of mourning, and the stars of heaven formed an assembly to deplore thee. Thy son, the light of day, was bewildered with sorrow and swerved from its path; thy brother, the ocean, shrunk with indignation and swelled no more (38). Since thy departure, the full moon hath never stationed within a halo, and the noontide sun hath never been seen to smile. God ordained that thou shouldst be dismounted from a bay and towering (*steed*) and be embarked in a black and unlucky (*vessel*)

In the following passage of the same poem, the poet alludes to the circumstance of al-Motamid's chains having fallen off :

Thy chains melted away and thou wert loose; thy chains were then more compassionate towards the generous than they. I marvelled that the iron should soften whilst their hearts remained hard; the iron was more conscious of reflexion than they were. He will deliver thee who delivered Joseph from the well; he will protect thee who protected Jesus, the son of Mary.

Ibn al-Labbâna composed a number of detached pieces and long *kasîdas*, in which he lamented the (*glorious*) days of that family and the ruin of their power. These poems he collected in a small volume, to which he gave the title of *Nazm as-Sulâk fi Waaz il-Mulâk* (*the string of beads, being an admonition to kings*). He visited al-Motamid at Aghmât with the intention of fulfilling a duty, not with the hope of obtaining a present, and it is stated that, when about to take leave, he received from the prince a present of twenty dinars and a piece of Baghdad cloth, accompanied with a note containing these lines :

Receive these precious objects from the hand of a captive; if you accept them, you will be truly grateful, for you accept (*a trifle*) from one who melts with shame to (*offer*) it, although poverty is his excuse.

These verses are only a part of the piece. Abû Bakr Ibn al-Labbâna here says: I sent this present back to him, being aware of his poverty and knowing that he had nothing left. I wrote to him at the same time the following answer to his note :

Thou hast met with a man who knoweth what is honour; leave me then in the ideas I have formed of thee. May I renounce the love I bear thee, and which forms half my soul, if the mantle which covers me ever discloses an impostor! May I never be delivered from misfortune if I wrong a captive. Thou art Jadima; az-Zabbâ deceived thee, and I shall not be less than Kasîr (39). I journey forth, but not with mercenary views; God preserve me from motives so disgraceful! I know thy merit better than thou dost thyself; I have often enjoyed its shade in the ardent heat (*of affliction*). Thou wheeldest about squadrons of noble deeds in the field of generosity, and out of little thou bestowest much. I wonder how thou art left in the darkness (*of despair*), whilst beacons of light are set up to guide the needy traveller. Have patience! thou shalt hereafter overwhelm me with joy, when the time returns for thee to mount the throne; thou shalt place me in an honorable rank, the morning of thy arrival at yonder palace. There thou shalt surpass Ibn Marwân in liberality, and I shall surpass Jarir (*in talent*) (40). Prepare to rise again; the moon doth not remain eclipsed for ever.

One festival day, he received, in his prison, the visit of his daughters, who were then gaining a livelihood at Aghmât by spinning; one of them was even employed as a spinner by the daughter of a person who had been in the service of her father and commanded the police guards when he was on the throne. Seeing them dressed in old tattered clothes, his heart was rent (*with grief*) and he recited these verses:

In former times festivals made thee rejoice, but now, a prisoner in Aghmât, a festival afflicts thee. Thou seest thy daughters hungry and in rags, spinning for hire and penniless. They went forth to salute thee, with down-cast eyes and broken hearts; they walk barefoot in the mud, as if they had never trod (*on floors strewn with*) musk and camphor. Not a cheek (*of theirs*) but its surface complains of drought (*misery*), and is never watered but with sobs (*and tears*). Fortune was once obedient to thy orders; now it has reduced thee to obey the commands of others. He who, after thee, lives rejoicing in the exercise of power, lives in the mere delusion of a dream.

Whilst in this (*miserable*) state, "with fetters enclosing his legs in a lion's grasp, encircling them as with the coils of black serpents, unable to stir his limbs, shedding not a single tear unmixed with blood, he, who had seen himself mounted on the pulpit and the throne, who (*had lived*) in the midst of silks and gardens, with standards waving over him, whilst the assemblies were "enlightened by his presence" (41), he received the visit of his son Abû Hâshim, and on perceiving him, he wept and recited these lines:

O my chains! know ye not my resignation, and that I scorn your pity and compassion? My blood hath been your drink; my flesh you have devoured; but do not break my bones. Abû Hâshim sees me in your grasp, and broken-hearted, he turns away his

face. Pity a boy whose mind, troubled (*by misfortune*), feareth not to implore your mercy. Pity his little sisters, who, like him, have swallowed the poisonous and bitter draught (*of misery*). One of them can comprehend, in some degree (*her situation*), and I have sometimes feared that she would lose her sight from excessive weeping; the other comprehends nothing, and only opens her mouth to take the breast.

Whilst he was in this situation, a number of needy solicitors assembled in his room and assailed him with importunities. On this occasion, he pronounced the following lines :

They ask a trifle from a prisoner; yet strange enough, I have greater cause to ask than they. Were it not for a feeling of shame and that hereditary pride (42) which imbues the inmost folds of my bosom, I should follow their example in begging.

The poems composed by al-Motamid and those composed on him are very numerous. — We have now passed our usual limits, but we were induced to lengthen this article because the like of so extraordinary a fate as his was never seen; our notice contains besides an account of his father and grandfather, and this contributed to extend it. Al-Motamid was born in the month of the first Rabi, A. H. 431 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1039), in Bâja (*Beja*), a city of Spain. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, in the year already mentioned (*in page 189*); he was deposed in the year which we have indicated (*in page 195*), and he died in prison at Aghmât, on the 11th of Shawwâl — some say, of Zû 'l-Hijja — A. H. 488 (October, A. D. 1095). At his interment, the crier called on the people to come to the funeral prayer about to be said over a stranger; singular fate of a once mighty and powerful prince! glory be to the Being whose existence, power, and might endure for ever! A great number of the poets who had visited his court to celebrate his praises, and who had been generously rewarded by him, assembled round his grave, to weep and recite over it various long *kasidas* in which they lamented his death. One of them was Abû Bahr Abd as-Samad, his favorite poet, who then deplored his loss in a long and excellent *kasida* beginning thus:

King of kings! canst thou still hear, so that I may call on thee? or doth a fatal misfortune prevent thee from hearing? On quitting thy palace, in which I saw thee no longer as once I did on days of rejoicing, I came, in humble respect, to kiss this grave and make thy tomb the place of my recitation.

On finishing, he kissed the grave, and rolled himself on the ground, and

soiled his face with dust; at this sight all the assembly burst into tears.—It is related that, after (*al-Motamid's*) overthrow, a person dreamt that he saw a man mount the pulpit in the mosque of Cordova, turn towards the people and recite the following lines :

How often have the caravans halted with the camels in the court of their glory, when it surpassed all rivalry ! During a time, misfortune addressed them not, but, when it spoke, it caused them to shed tears of blood.

Al-Motamid had a grandson, who, in the days of their power, bore the surname of Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*glory of the empire*), which, with that dynasty, was an imperial title. This boy, who was remarkably well looking, took to the trade of a goldsmith, and Abû Bakr ad-Dâni (*Ibn al-Labbâna*) having seen him one day blowing the fire by means of a hollow reed, composed a *kastîda* in which he introduced the following passage :

Great is our affliction for thee, O Fakhr al-Ola (*glory of exaltation*), and great the misfortune for one whose power was so great ! Time has placed around thy neck the tight collar of its vicissitudes ; yet how often didst thou place round ours the collar of thy beneficence ! Thy (*imperial*) collar has returned to the shop of him who forged it, and yet thou once dwelt in a palace like that of Iram (43). Thou wielded goldsmith's tools in that hand which only knew beneficence, the sword, and the pen ; a hand which I have often seen thee hold out to be kissed, and then the Pleiades aspired to become a mouth. Artisan ! thou for whom high rank formed a brilliant ornament and who once wast decked with sets of pearls ! the blowing of the trumpet (*on the day of judgment*) will create a consternation equalled only by that which I felt on seeing thee blowing coals. When I saw thee thus employed, I wished that, before it, my eyes had been afflicted with blindness. When fortune degraded thee from thy rank, it did not degrade thee, neither did it diminish thy noble qualities. Shine in honour ! shine as a star, if thou canst not as a moon ; rise in honour as a hill, if thou canst not as a mountain ! By Allah ! were the stars still towards thee, they would eclipse their light, and were men's eyes faithful to thee, they would spend their tears. Thy story would make even the pearls weep, since they resemble thee in family, in words, and in smiles (44).

It is unnecessary to make further additions to this article.—*Lârki* means belonging to *Lârka* (*Lorca*), a city in Spain. The author of the *Kharîda* mentions the poet al-Lârki in that work, and states that he survived al-Motamid many years ; he gives also numerous specimens of his poetry. — *Aghmât* is a town situated at a day's journey beyond Morocco ; it has produced many men distinguished for learning.—As for Abû Bakr (*Muhammad Ibn Isa ad-Dâni* [native of Denia], *surnamed*) Ibn al-Labbâna, none of the works which I have consulted

give the date of his death, and I never met with any person who knew it. I saw, however, in the *Hamṣa* composed by Abū 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Baiyāsī, a person of whom we shall again speak, that Ibn al-Labbāna arrived at Majorca, towards the end of the month of Shaabān, A. H. 489 (August, A. D. 1096), and that he celebrated the praises of Mubashshar Ibn Sulaimān (45), sovereign of that island, in a piece of verse commencing thus :

A king who, when arrayed with jewels, strikes thee with admiration by his splendour, and whose magnificence gives fresh lustre to the qualities of the age in which he lives.

Not finding any elegies of Ibn al-Labbāna on the death of al-Motamid, I imagined that he had died before that prince; I then found al-Baiyāsī's statement, which, if true, proves the contrary.

(1) For the history of the Lakhmides of al-Hira, see Pococke's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* p. 67, ed. 1806.

(2) The MSS. read *أحلوقة* and *أخلوقه*. The true reading appears to be *أحلوقة*; it is here governed in the accusative by the verb *أحلق* or *أقسم* understood.

(3) One of the MSS. has *الحمصري* (*al-Husri*).

(4) This number of years is too great and cannot be reconciled with the history of these events, as far as it is known to us.

(5) *Al-Motadid*, or more correctly *al-Motadid billah*, signifies: *one who recurs to the assistance of God*.

(6) We have here a fair specimen of Ibn Bassām's extravagant and pretentious style.

(7) Literally: Between standing up and sitting down.

(8) Literally: Copiousness of fingers.

(9) I believe that, with the Arabian poets, a weak-bodied wine means a pure transparent wine.

(10) This is a mistake. The poems of which Ibn Khallikān speaks were composed in honour of al-Motamid.

(11) Literally: The place where the baggage is taken off.

(12) Literally: As were enclosed between the two ranks of servants in his hall.

(13) Literally: And a maternal hand of mine saluted these stars.

(14) I read *لا كافيكم بجفونكم*.

(15) *Zahrā* is the feminine singular of the adjective *azhar* (*bright, splendid*).

(16) Ibn Khallikān's copyists have here committed a blunder which it is impossible to render into English. The passage, if translated into French, would run thus: *Et sa largeur, du sud au midi, est, etc.* They have written *من القبلة الى الجنوب*, instead of *من القبلة الى الجوف*.

(17) The words of the original text are *السوق المستخلص*.

(18) Not a trace of the *Zahrā* can now be discovered.

(19) Literally: Because al-Motamid was the person who drew him by the arm. In English, we should say: Who took him by the hand.

(20) Zū 'l-Wizāratāin Abū 'l-Hasan Jaafar Ibn Ibrahīm Ibn al-Hājj al-Lārki (*native of Lorea*), a distinguished poet and prose-writer, belonged to an eminent family, some members of which rose to the rank of vizir. Addicted, in his youth, to wine and pleasure, he afterwards reformed his life and passed the remainder of his days in ascetism and self-mortification.—(*Bughyd. Kalāḍ al-Iktyān.*)—The date of his death is not given, but Ibn Khāḱān, the author of the latter work, cites a piece of verse composed by him in the year 517 A. D. 1123-4).

(21) Abū Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Faraj Ibn Ghazlūn al-Yahsubi, generally known by the appellation of *Ibn al-Ammāt* (العمال), was a native of Toledo, a learned traditionist, a grammarian, a philologist, and a poet. He gave lectures on the interpretation of the Koran, and these assemblies were numerously attended. He led a retired life, and succeeded Abū 'l-Walīd al-Wakshi as *kādī* of Talavera. He died A. H. 487 (A. D. 1094), aged upwards of eighty years.—(Ibn Bashkuwāl, in his *Silat.*)

(22) Or, if we take the words of the original in their literal sense: *to provide besieging machines.* The other meaning seems preferable, as he must have already possessed such machines when he set out to besiege Cordova.

(23) This word signifies *the lithām wearers*, and is frequently used to designate the Almoravides. The *lithām* is the piece of stuff worn by the inhabitants of the great African desert to protect their faces from the reflected heat of the sun. It covers the cheeks, the extremity of the nose, the mouth, and the chin. It is still in use, as may be seen from the plates of captain Lyon's travels.

(24) Sir Ibn Abi Bakr belonged to the Berber tribe of Lamtūna. I do not know why Ibn Khallikān calls him *al-Andalusī* (*native of Spain*).

(25) Literally: Throwing himself upon death.

(26) At the end of this article, Ibn Khallikān gives a note on Ibn al-Labbāna. See also vol. II. p. 162.

(27) This is an allusion to the third verse of the 81st sūrat of the Koran, where Muḥammad mentions the signs which announce the approach of the day of judgment.

(28) See vol. II p. 161, where the same verses are given, but not so correctly rendered as here.

(29) These verses also are incorrectly rendered in the same page of vol. II.

(30) The word *أعواد* signifies *boards*, and is elegantly employed *in Arabic*, to designate the pulpit. To avoid tautology, I have employed the word *throne*.

(31) Here Ibn Khallikān has altered, for the worse, the text of Ibn Khāḱān; that writer says: And in *those dens* (بين تلك الكهانس) he saw nought but strangers.

\* (32) The rhyme here obliges us to pronounce the word *shdh* as if it was written *shdt*; this is a fault against the rules of versification.

(33) In the *Khartā*, MS. No. 1373, f. l. 183, the verses of this poem are given in another order, and part of them suppressed. The piece itself is very obscure, and I am by no means certain of having rendered its meaning correctly in some parts.

(34) Great doubts still remain on my mind respecting the meaning of the two verses which I have here attempted to translate.

(35) That is: the palace and the grounds about it are furrowed and cross-furrowed by torrents.

(36) These must have been statues of animals, like the lions of the fountain in the court of the Alhambra.

(37) *The earth oppressing by its narrowness* is a koranic expression to denote intense grief. As the poet takes this figurative expression in its literal sense, it is impossible to render his meaning clearly in another language.

(38) The poet calls the day of Motamid's son on account of its splendour, and the ocean his brother because its waters were as copious as his beneficence.

(39) See the anecdote to which the poet makes allusion in Pococke's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* p. 68; Fleischer's *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 123; Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, p. 2; and Freytag's *Meidani*, t. I. p. 424; especially the two last.

(40) He means Jarir the poet, who was a favorite with the khalif Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. See vol. I. page 297.

(41) The phrase is borrowed from the notice on al-Motamid by Ibn Khāḡān.

(42) Literally: *Lakhmite pride*. The Abbād family drew its descent from the progenitor of the tribe of Lakhm.

(43) See an account of this fabulous city in Lane's translation of the Arabian Nights, vol. II. p. 342.

(44) In the MS. the verse runs thus: ابكى حديثك حتى الدر حين عذا يحكيك رطبا والفاظا ومبتسما  
The poet here indicates the points in which the young prince resembled pearls; first, by his family, who were the pearls of the age; secondly, by the elegance of his discourse, the expressions he made use of being the pearls of the language; and thirdly, by his teeth, which appeared, when he smiled, like two rows of pearls.

(45) See Gayangos's History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain, vol. II. p. 238, and *Appendix*, p. xlvii.

### AL-MOTASIM IBN SUMADIH.

Abū Yahya Muhammad Ibn Maan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sumādih, surnamed al-Motasim at-Tujibi (1), was sovereign of al-Māriya (*Almeria*), Baj-jāna (*Pechina*), and as-Sumādiliya (2), cities in Spain. His grandfather Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sumādih possessed the city and district of Washka (*Huesca*) in the days of al-Muwaiyad Hishām Ibn al-Hakam, the Omaiyide prince of whom mention has been made in the life of al-Motamid Ibn Abbād (vol. III. page 187). Being attacked and defeated by his cousin Mundir Ibn Yahya at-Tujibi, and unable to resist the numerous troops of his adversary, he took to flight, and, having abandoned Huesca, he remained without the smallest tie to connect him with that city. Muhammad Ibn Ahmad was endowed with judgment, acuteness, and eloquence, qualities in which none of the military chiefs of that time were his equals. His son Maan, the father of al-Motasim, married the daughter of Abd al-Aziz Ibn Abi Aāmīr, the sovereign of Valencia, who subsequently, when Zuhair, his father's *mawla* who commanded at Almeria, lost his life, seized on that city, pretending that it belonged to a *mawla* of his family (3). This act excited the jealousy of Abū 'l-Jaish Mujāhid Ibn Abd Allah al-Aāmīri

(*vol. I. p. 278*), the sovereign of Denia, who immediately set out to invade the territory possessed by Abd al-Aziz whilst the latter was engaged in taking possession of the heritage which Zuheir had left. When Abd al-Aziz heard of Mujâhid's march, he departed from Almeria in all haste with the intention of suing for peace, and left his son-in-law and vizir, Maan Ibn Sumâdih, to govern that city as his lieutenant. Maan betrayed the confidence placed in him and, having declared himself independent, succeeded in establishing his authority, notwithstanding the universal reprobation which this act excited amongst the provincial kings who then ruled in Spain. On his death, the kingdom passed into the hands of his son al-Motasim. This prince, who had assumed one of the surnames special to khalifs, was distinguished for hospitality, liberality, and aversion to bloodshed; the hopes of the needy were turned towards him, every mouth spoke his praise, visitors flocked to his court (4), and eminent poets, such as Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Haddâd and others, devoted their talents to his praise. Al-Motasim himself composed some good poetry, such as the following verses addressed by him in a letter to Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ammâr al-Andalusi (*vol. III. p. 429*), complaining of his conduct :

My knowledge of the world and long experience has estranged me from mankind. Never did fortune show me a friend who pleased me on a first acquaintance, but in the end he gave me motives of complaint; and never did I expect a friend's assistance against misfortune, but I found him also an affliction.

To this Ibn Ammâr replied in a long piece of verse which it is unnecessary to reproduce. Another of al-Motasim's pieces is the following :

O thou whose absence hath afflicted my body with a sickness not to be cured but by thy return! My eyes and sleep are engaged in a warfare to which the battles of Siffin appear a trifle (5). Though vicissitudes of time keep us separated, the *taif al-Khiâl* (6) may unite us.

It was from this passage that the *kâtib* Bahâ ad-dîn Zuhair Ibn Muhammad (*vol. I. p. 542*) took the idea expressed in the following verse of one of his poems :

Since thy absence, my eyelids and slumber are at war.

Al-Motamid left a great number of other pieces besides these. Some splen-



did *kasidas* were composed in his praise by Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Khalaf Ibn Ahmad Ibn Othmân Ibn Ibrahim, a native of Almeria, and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Haddâd al-Kaisi. One of these poems begins thus :

Hast thou then walked on the bank of this blessed valley? for the soil on which I tread seems like Indian ambergris. In the perfume which thou hast left I recognise the sweet odour which floated around those (*whom I loved*), and the gales of passion again spring up within my bosom. In my nocturnal journey, their fire and their beacon were my guides and conductors, when the stars were extinguished. By some such cause, my camels were excited, my Arabian steeds neighed, and the slowest (*in the caravan*) quickened its pace. Were they urged on by the same motive as I was? perhaps they took refuge in the ardour (*which animated them*) that they might escape from the fires of my heart. Slacken your speed, for this is the valley of (*my beloved*) Lubaina! this is the spot where I shall accomplish my wishes and quench the thirst which consumes me (7). Fair is the abode of Lubna's people! fair the soil on which Lubna trod! In that land was the hippodrome of my passionate desires; there, the field in which I gave career to my imagination; there, my love took its beginning and received its end. Think not the maidens of that land (*cruel and*) ungrateful; those were hearts indeed which their bosoms contained; under their azure veils (*was sheltered*) well-protected honour, guarded by the azure points of watchful spears. (*There*) the appearance of a handsome maiden rendered vain the (*efforts of the lover in his*) tedious task of (*reducing his heart to*) indifference, and all were converts to the religion of love. (*There, maidens*) fair and tall fill his bosom with desire; (*maidens*) large-eyed and chaste love the languor of his eyes. In the sporting-ground of (*their*) ringlets is a clear white (*complexion*), mixed with a bright red to complete its beauty. Maiden, so prompt to wound with your treacherous glances! so insensible to love! you stood in fear of God, but the glance of your eyes was a sinner. The lovers are pierced with wounds, but their blood is floods of tears, and their eyes are the wounds. How can I endure thy sharp glances striking me to the heart, when no hand can close the gash left by that fatal steel? How can I expect to be cured of love? It is not all who suffer from sickness that are cured.

From this the poet makes a transition to the praises of his patron. It is a long and high-sounding *kasida*. Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Asaad Ibn Billita (8), another Spanish poet and one of the most eminent among them, celebrated al-Motasim's praises in a *kasida* rhyming in *t* (ط), which opened thus :

At Râma (9) I received the visits of a fawn (*a maiden*) which at first had (*been cruel and*) attacked (*me*); when once tamed, I caught it on the bank of the river, but it since has fled away. The fruits which love produced in the bosoms of men were its pasture, not the odoriferous and acid shrubs of the desert.

In this poem he says :

The black collyrium of darkness was dissolved by the tears of the dawn, and the morning light appeared like greyness in black hair. The darkness seemed like a host of Negroes (*Zenj*) taking to flight and pursued by (*tawney*) Copts sent after them by the morn.

In the same poem he introduces the following description of a cock :

We might think that Anúshrewán had placed his crown on the animal's head, and that the hand of Mária had suspended ear-rings to his ears (10). He has stolen the robe of the peacock, the handsomest part of his dress, and not content with that, he has stolen his mode of walking from the duck (11).

In the same poem he says :

The curve of the ringlet on her cheek might be taken for a *nûn* (ن), and the black mole on that cheek represents the point (12). In mien like a young page, she approached, and darkness had inscribed a line of black on the perfumed seal of her mouth. She came moistening her toothpick in the coolness (*humidity*) of her mouth, after imbuing her comb with the musk of her hair. And I said, alluding to the (*languor*) of her eyes and the beauty bestowed upon her dark red lips: "O thou whose glances are unsteady, but not from intoxication! when did the glances of thy eyes drink wine? I see the yellow toothpick (13) in thy red lips, and the green (*dark*) mustaches traced with musk (*blackness*). Methinks thou hast kissed a rainbow and its colours have been impressed upon thy dark lips."

This poem contains the following eulogistic passage :

(*The rains fall in torrents*) as if poured forth by (*the beneficence of*) Abû Yahya, the son of Maan, and as if his hand had taught the clouds to shower forth abundance. His lineage is composed of pearls and beads of gold, and renown bears it as a collar round her neck. When he marches forth, glory marches under his standard, and glory takes its station only where he sojourns. At night, he rears a pillar of fire to guide nocturnal travellers, and the camel, arriving unexpectedly, stumbles no more through the shades of darkness. I say to the caravans which seek the spot where the rains of generosity are wont to fall, when its riders have passed the desert which separated them from thee: "Do you seek a rival to Ibn Maan in glory? He who lights a candle in sunshine is much mistaken!"

This is a long *kasida*, containing about ninety verses; he has displayed great skill in its versification when we consider the difficulties attending the peculiar rhyme which he adopted. When the emir Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn passed into Spain, the greater part of the provincial kings who still continued to reign in that country went to meet him, and al-Motasim was specially favoured with his intimacy; but, when al-Motamid (*vol. III. p. 195*) openly resisted Yûsuf,

whose mind had been turned against him, al-Motasim sided with the former and repudiated the authority of the African monarch. The emir Yūsuf, on his return to Spain, resolved to dethrone and imprison them both, a circumstance to which Ibn Bassām (*vol. II: p. 304*) alludes in the following passage of his *Dakḥira*: "Some secret must have existed between al-Motasim and God, or else some meritorious act must have preceded his death, for, a few days only before the stroke of misfortune fell upon him, he died in the exercise of power, still possessing his native city and surrounded by his family and children. I have been informed by a person whose statement I can have no motive to reject, that Arwa, an aged concubine of al-Motasim's father, made him the following relation: 'Truly, I was near him whilst he was giving his last injunctions, and he had almost lost the power of his hands and his tongue. The camp of the *emir of the Moslems*'—she meant Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn—'was then so near that we might count his tents and hear the confused cries of the soldiers when any thing remarkable occurred. Al-Motasim then said: 'There is no god but God! we have been troubled in all things and even in dying.' On this tears came to my eyes, and I shall never forget the look he gave me, as he turned up his eyes and repeated with a voice so feeble as hardly to be heard:

"Spare thy tears! spend them not! a time of long weeping awaits thee!"

Muhammad Ibn Aiyūb al-Ansāri (14) composed a work in the year 568 (A. D. 1172-3), for the sultan al-Malik an-Nāsir Salāḥ ad-Dīn (*Saladin*); it contains a notice on al-Motasim Ibn Sumādih, in which he says (after giving a sketch of his history, some passages of his poetry, an account of the siege he had to sustain, and mentioning his words: *We have been troubled in all things and even in dying*): "He died soon after, at Almeria, on Thursday, the 22nd of the first Rabi, A. H. 484 (May, A. D. 1091), towards the hour of sunrise, and was interred at the Bāb al-Khaukha (*the loop-hole gate*), in a mausoleum erected to receive him." *Sumādih* signifies *strong*.—*Billāta*, the name of Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Asaad's father, is a word of which I do not know the signification; it belongs to the language of the Spanish Christians (*Āddjīm*) (15).—Of *Tujibi* we have already spoken (*vol. I. p. 370*).—*Bujjāna* (*Pechina*) is the name of a town in Spain.—*Al-Māriya* (*Alme-*

ria) has been already mentioned (*vol. I. p. 43*).—*As-Sumâdhiya* was so named after the Sumâdih of whom we have spoken.—*Washka* (*Huesca*) is a town in Spain.

(1) *Al-Motasm at-Tujtbi* signifies the *Motasm of the tribe of Tujtb*; he was so designated to distinguish him from the Abbaside khalif al-Motasin.

(2) It appears from al-Makkari, who relates some anecdotes of Ibn Sumâdih's generosity, that the Sumâdhiya was a magnificent palace. See Gayangos' *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. I. p. 135. That gentleman writes the name *Samdehiya*, but the pronunciation here adopted is that given by Ibn Khallikân.

(3) See vol. II. Introduction, page ix.

(4) Literally: And the caravans (or *camels*) were impelled unto his court.

(5) The battle of Siffin was fought between Ali and Moawla in A. H. 37. The two parties remained in the field eleven months, and ninety conflicts took place between them.

(6) See vol. I. page xxxvi.

(7) Literally: Certe (*est*) aquarium votorum meorum, et certe sum sitiens.

(8) Al-Asaad Ibn Billta, a celebrated poet and a native of Cordova, died towards A. H. 440 (A. D. 1048-9).—(*Bughya*.)

(9) See vol. I. page 200.

(10) Mâria, the mother of the Ghassanite prince al-Hârith Ibn Abi Shamr, possessed a pair of ear-rings, each composed of a single pearl of immense value. See the proverbs on this subject Freytag's *Maidânî*, tom. I. p. 422, and Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, p. 52.

(11) I am unable to assign any other meaning than this to the words حتى سبي الهشبة الباطن.

(12) In this piece he describes a youth who had the appearance of a young girl, and whom he pretended to take for one.

(13) Toothpicks in the south of Europe are made of olive wood, which is yellow.

(14) Hajji Khalifa attributes to this author a work entitled: القصد والامم باخبار الامم.

(15) *Bellido*, in Spanish, signifies *handsome*; *billéte* means a *billet* or *note*.

## MUHAMMAD IBN TUMART.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tûmart al-Harghi, styled al-Mahdi (1), the *chief of the call* (2) made in Maghrib in favour of Abd al-Mûmin Ibn Ali (*vol. II. p. 182*)—see some particulars respecting him in the life of the latter—was stated to be a descendant of al-Hasan, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. I here copy textually a note which I found inscribed on the cover of the treatise on patronymics (*Kitâb an-Nisab*) attributed to as-Sharif al-Aâbid, which note

is in the handwriting of some literary man of the present age: Muhammad (*Ibn Tâmart was*) the son of Abd Allah Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Hûd Ibn Khâlid Ibn Tammâm Ibn Adnân Ibn Safwân Ibn Sofyân Ibn Jâbir Ibn Yahya Ibn Ata Ibn Rabâh Ibn Yasâr Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. God best knows how far this statement may be true (3). He belonged to Jabal as-Sûs (*the mountain of as-Sûs*) in the farthest part of Maghrib, and there he passed his early years. When a youth, he travelled to the East for the purpose of acquiring learning, and, on his arrival in Irâk, he met Abû Ilâmid al-Ghazzâli (*vol. II. page 624*), al-Kiya al-Harrâsi (*vol. II. page 229*), at-Tortûshi (*vol. II. p. 665*), and other masters. Having made the pilgrimage, he remained, for a time, at Mekka, and attained a very fair knowledge of the law, the Traditions of Muhammad, and the fundamental principles of jurisprudence and religion (4). Pious and devout, he lived in squalid poverty, subsisting on the coarsest fare and attired in worn-out clothes; he generally went with downcast eyes; smiling whenever he looked a person in the face, and ever manifesting his propensity for the practices of devotion. He carried with him no other worldly goods than a staff and a skin for holding water; his courage was great; he spoke correctly the Arabic and the Maghrib (*Berber*) languages; he blamed with extreme severity the conduct of those who offended the holy law, and not content with obeying God's commandments, he laboured to enforce their strict observance (5); an occupation in which he took such pleasure that he seemed to have been naturally formed for it, and he suffered with patience the vexations to which it exposed him. The ill usage which he incurred at Mekka by his zeal obliged him to pass into Egypt, and having expressed the highest disapprobation of the culpable proceedings which he witnessed there, the people treated him in the roughest manner, and the government drove him out of the country. When he saw himself in danger of personal violence and chastisement, his discourse became incoherent, and this circumstance was considered as a proof of his insanity. On quitting Cairo, he proceeded to Alexandria and embarked for his native country. When in the East, he dreamed that he had drunk up the sea at two different times (6). He was no sooner on board the vessel than he began to reform the profane conduct of the crew, obliging them to say their prayers at the regular hours and to read (*each time*) a portion of the Koran. In this occupation he persevered till his arrival at al-Mahdiya.

Al-Mahdiyya, a city of Ifrikiya, was then, A. H. 505 (A. D. 1111-2), under the rule of the emir Yahya Ibn Tamim Ibn ʿal-Moizz Ibn Bâdis as-Sunhâjî. So I find it stated in the History of Kairawân; I have mentioned, however, in the life of Tamim, Yahya's father (vol. I. p. 282), that it was under the latter's reign that Ibn Tûmart passed through Ifrikiya on his return from the East, and so also have I found it written. God best knows which of these accounts is right; Ibn Tûmart did not make two journeys to the East, so we cannot suppose that he returned twice, and if he came back in the year 505, as we have just mentioned, it must have been during the reign of the emir Yahya; for Tamim, Yahya's father, died in 504, as we have already said in his life. I notice this contradiction, lest the reader should suppose that it escaped my attention. In the historical work drawn up in the form of annals by al-Kâdî 'l-Akram Ibn al-Kiftî, the vizir of Aleppo (vol. II. p. 494), we find the following passage: "In 'this year,'—that is, towards the close of 514—"Muhammad Ibn Tûmart left 'Egypt in the dress of a jurisconsult, after having pursued his studies there 'and in other countries, and he arrived at Bijaiya (*Bugja*)." God knows who is in the right (7)! On arriving at al-Mahdiyya, he took up his abode in a mosque built over vaulted chambers (8), and situated on the road-side; there he used to sit at a window, watching those who passed by, and, whenever he perceived any thing reprehensible, such as musical instruments or vessels containing wine, he never failed to go down and break them. When the people of the city heard of his conduct, they went to see him and read over treatises on the principles of religion under his tuition. The emir Yahya being informed of these proceedings, assembled a number of jurisconsults, and caused Ibn Tûmart to be brought before him. Struck with his appearance and discourse, the prince showed him the highest respect and requested the holy man to offer up a prayer in his favour. "May God direct thee," said Ibn Tûmart, "for the welfare of 'thy subjects!" A few days after this, he departed from al-Mahdiyya and proceeded to Bugia, where he passed some time in his usual occupation of reprov-ing acts contrary to religion. Being expelled the city, he went to Mallâla, a village in the neighbourhood (9), and there met Abd al-Mûmin Ibn Ali 'l-Kaisî (vol. II. p. 182). I have read in the work entitled: *Kitâb al-Mughrib an Strat Mulâk il-Maghrib* (10) that Muhammad Ibn Tûmart had studied the *Kitâb al-Jafr* (11), a work containing one of those (*mysterious*) sciences with which the

*People of the House (the descendants of Ali)* alone are acquainted, and that he found therein the description of a man descended from the Prophet, who was to appear in a country of al-Maghrib al-Aksa called as-Sûs, and invite the people to the service of God; that person was to dwell and be buried at a place the name of which was spelt with these letters, *T, I, N, M, I*; his authority was to be supported and established by a man of his disciples, the letters of whose names were *A, B, D, M, U, M, N*, and that this was to happen subsequently to the fifth century of the Hijra. God then put it into his head that he was the person destined for this undertaking, and that the time of its accomplishment was at hand; therefore, wherever he passed, he made inquiries respecting the person who was to support his cause; asking the name of every individual whom he saw and examining his appearance, for he had with him Abd al-Mûmin's description. Journeying on his way, he passed by a youth answering the indications, and said: "What is thy name, my boy?" The other replied: "Abd al-Mûmin." On hearing these words, he turned back to him and said: "God is great! thou art the person whom I seek!" He then examined his features, and, finding them to correspond with the description he had with him, he said: "To what people dost thou belong?" Abd al-Mûmin answered: "To the Kûmiya."—"Whither art thou going?"—"To the East."—"With what intention?"—"To acquire knowledge."—"Well!" said Ibn Tûmart, "knowledge thou hast found, and glory moreover, and renown; be my disciple and thou shalt obtain them." Abd al-Mûmin accepted his proposal, and Muhammad (*Ibn Tûmart*) then explained to him his project and confided to him his secret. He communicated also his design to a man called Abd Allah al-Wansharisi, who had become his disciple, and he obtained his full consent to the undertaking. Al-Wansharisi had studied jurisprudence and learned the substance of various works (12); he was handsome in person, and spoke with elegance the language of the Arabs and that of the natives of Maghrib. As he and Muhammad Ibn Tûmart were one day conversing on the means by which their project might be accomplished, the latter said to him: "My opinion is, that you conceal from the people your learning and eloquence, and that you manifest such incapacity, such incorrectness of language, such mean abilities and such a want of talent as may render your name notorious; we shall then represent as a miracle, when we require one, the suddenness with which you quit your assumed character and become pos-

“sessed of learning and eloquence; then, every word you say will be believed.” al-Wansharisi acted accordingly. Muhammad (*Ibn Tūmart*) then got about him some Maghribins remarkable for bodily strength, but grossly ignorant; preferring such persons to men of intelligence and penetration. They were six in number, and, being accompanied by them and by al-Wansharisi, he set out for the farthest extremity of Maghrib. Abd al-Mūmin then joined him, and the whole party took the road to Morocco. Abū 'l-Hasan Ali, the sovereign of that city, was the son of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifin, the same of whom we have spoken in the lives of al-Motamid Ibn Abbād (*vol. III. p. 193*) and al-Motasim Ibn Sumādh (*vol. III. p. 207*). He was a powerful prince, mild, devout, just, and humble (*before God*), and he had then at his court a learned and pious native of Spain called Mālik Ibn Wuhaib (*vol. II. p. 265*). Muhammad began, as usual, to express his disapprobation of what he witnessed, and even dared to reprimand the daughter of the king. The particulars of this last adventure are too long to be related here (13). The king, being informed of his conduct, and learning that he talked of reforming the state, spoke to Mālik Ibn Wuhaib on the subject, and received this reply: “We should be afraid of opening a door which we shall find difficulty in shutting again; we had best cite this fellow and his companions before an assembly of juriconsults belonging to the city, and hear what they have to say.” The king approved of his counsel and sent for Muhammad and his disciples, who were then sojourning in a ruined mosque outside the town. When they entered the hall of audience, the king said to his juriconsults: “Ask this man what he wants with us,” and Muhammad Ibn Aswad, the *kādi* of Almeria, obeyed and said: “What are those discourses which thou art said to hold relative to the just and merciful king who is so submissive to the (*doctrines of*) truth and who prefers being obedient towards God to the following of his passions?” To this Muhammad replied: “The discourses spoken of I did hold, and I have yet more to make; as for thy words, that the king prefers being obedient towards God to the following of his passions, and that he is submissive to the truth, the moment is now come to put them to the test. It shall then be known, if he possess not the qualities you mention, that he is led astray by the discourses and flattery which you address to him, though you are well aware that their refutation is at hand. Hast thou been informed, O *kādi*! that wine is sold here publicly? that swine run



“about in the midst of the Moslems? that the property of the orphan is seized upon?” He proceeded in this manner with a long enumeration, and the king was so deeply affected that he shed tears and hung down his head with shame. The persons present perceived from the drift of this discourse that the speaker aspired to the possession of the kingdom; but, remarking that the king remained silent and had evidently been imposed on by Ibn Tûmart's words, they abstained from making any reply. At length Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib, who could take great liberties with the king, addressed him in these terms: “O king! I have an advice to give, which, if you accept it, will have the most satisfactory results, whilst its rejection will expose you to great danger.”—“Let me hear it,” said the king.—“I am afraid,” said Ibn Wuhaib, “that this man will do you harm, and my advice is that you imprison him and his companions and assign to them for their support the daily sum of one dinar. This will secure you from his evil intentions; and, if you refuse doing so, he will cost you all the money in your treasury, and your indulgence will have proved fitted you nothing.”—The king approved the counsel, but his vizir said: “It would be shameful for you, after having wept at the exhortations of this man, to treat him ill in the same sitting, and disgraceful for you who possess so great a kingdom to stand in dread of a man who does not possess wherewithal to appease his hunger.” The king, whose pride was excited by these words, declared Ibn Tûmart's proceedings unworthy of attention, and dismissed him after asking his prayers. The author of the work entitled *Kitâb al-Mughrib fî Akhbâr Ahl il-Maghrib*, says: “Ibn Tûmart, whilst retiring from the king's presence, kept his face turned towards him till he reached the door, and some persons having said to him: “We see that thou showest respect to the king in not turning thy back to him;” he replied: “My intention was to watch vanity as long as I could, until the time come that I may change it.”—On leaving the king's presence, Muhammad said to his companions: “We cannot possibly remain at Morocco whilst Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib is there; he is capable of bringing our business again before the king, and subjecting us to ill usage. But we have, in the city of Aghmât, a brother in God; let us go to him, and his good advice and prayers shall not fail us.” This man, whose name was Abd al-Hakk Ibn Ibrahim, was one of the doctors who acted as jurisconsults to the (*Berbers of the*) Masmûda tribes. They set out to

find him, and, having stopped at his house, Muhammad told him who they were, and informed him of their design and of what had passed between them and the king. Abd al-Hakk replied: "This place cannot protect you, but one of the strongest holds in the neighbourhood is the town of Tin-Mall; it lies in this mountain, at the distance of a day's journey. You may remain there in retirement till all recollection of your proceedings has passed over." The mention of this name recalled to Ibn Tûmart's memory the name of the place which he had seen in the *Jafr*, and he immediately proceeded thither with his companions. When the inhabitants saw them arrive in that state and learned that they were students in pursuit of knowledge, they stood up to give them an honourable reception and a friendly welcome, lodging them in the best rooms of their dwellings. After their departure from Morocco, the king asked about them and learned with satisfaction that they had left the city: "We have escaped," said he, "the sin of putting them in prison." When the mountaineers were told that Muhammad, he of whom they had already heard so much, was arrived among them, *they came unto him from every deep valley* (14); thinking that, in going to see him, they should obtain the divine favour. Every person that came, he took apart, and discovered to him his intention of revolting against the king; if the visitor promised to assist him, he admitted him into the number of his partisans; if he refused, he turned away from him. He sought particularly to gain over the young and inexperienced; but, as the more prudent and intelligent advised them to avoid him, and warned them not to become his followers lest they should incur the vengeance of the king, his efforts were useless. Whilst thus engaged, time passed away; he began to fear that death might surprise him before the accomplishment of his purpose; he dreaded lest an order from the king might oblige the people to deliver him up and abandon him. These considerations induced him to have recourse to stratagem in order to forward the affair in which he had engaged them, and he laid a plan for pushing them to rebellion. Having remarked that some of their children had rosy cheeks and blue eyes, although the fathers were of a tawny complexion and black-eyed, he asked them the reason. They at first refused to answer, but yielding at length to his urgent request, they said: "We are subjects of this king, and pay him a tax (*khardj*); therefore, every year, his mamlûks (15) come up to us (*to receive it*), and they lodge in our houses after turning

“ us out ; there they remain alone with our women, who, in consequence, bear children of that complexion. ~ This treatment we have no means of resisting.” “ By Allah ! ” exclaimed Muhammad, “ death were preferable to a life such as that ; how can you consent to such a disgrace, you who are the best swordsmen and spearmen that God ever created ? ” — “ We do not consent to it,” was the reply ; “ it is done against our will.” — “ Well,” said Muhammad, “ answer me ; if a person offered to help you against your enemies, what would you do ? ” — “ We would march before him even to our death ; who is he ? ” “ Your guest,” replied Muhammad, meaning himself. — “ We engage to hear and obey him,” answered the people. From that moment, they treated him with extreme respect and bound themselves to him by pacts and engagements, so that his heart was tranquillised. He then said to them : “ Prepare your arms for the coming of these fellows, and, on their arrival, let them pursue their usual course ; leave them and the women together, serve them with wine, and when they are drunk, let me know.” When the mamlûks came, the people of the mountain treated them as Muhammad advised, and, the night having set in, they informed him of what had been done. He immediately ordered them to slay them all, and the first hour of the night had not passed over when they were exterminated. Only one mamlûk escaped ; he had gone out on some necessary occasion, and, hearing the cries of *Allah akbar* (*God is great*) and the noise of the attack, he fled without knowing which way he went, and succeeded in getting out of the mountain and reaching Morocco. When the king was informed of what had happened, he repented of having suffered Muhammad to escape, and felt that the advice given him by Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib was the result of foresight and prudence. He immediately despatched an army large enough to fill up such a narrow pass as that of Tin-Mall ; but Muhammad, convinced that troops would be sent against the insurgents, called some of the neighbouring (*tribes*) to his assistance and posted the people of the mountain in the defiles of the valley and on the heights by which it was commanded. As the cavalry advanced, showers of stones were poured down upon them from every side, and the defence was sustained in this manner from morning till night. The approach of darkness put an end to the combat, and the army returned to the king and acquainted him with what they had suffered. The king, perceiving his inability to subdue the rebels in their stronghold, turned his attention from them,

and Muhammad, who had foreseen this result, won the devoted attachment of the mountaineers. He then called al-Wansharisi and said to him : "Now is the time to display thy talents all at once ; that will serve us as a miraculous sign whereby we shall gain the hearts of those who have not acknowledged our authority." Having concerted together, it was agreed on that al-Wansharisi should say the morning prayer, and that, after having so long stammered out his ideas in a language full of barbarisms, he should say, in a clear and intelligible voice : "I dreamt yesterday that two angels came down from heaven and split open my heart and washed it, and filled it with science and wisdom and the Koran (16)." The next morning he did so ; and we shall only state, without entering into particulars, that even the most stubborn yielded, and all were struck with amazement at his learning by heart the Koran in a dream. Muhammad then said to him : "Tell us quickly the heavenly news ; are we destined to eternal happiness or everlasting misery ?" Al-Wansharisi replied : "As for thee, thou art the Mahdi, the maintainer (*kādim*) of the cause of God ; who-soever followeth thee shall be saved, and whosoever resisteth thee shall perish." He then said : "Present thy followers unto me, in order that I may separate those who are destined for paradise from those who are destined for hell." He thus executed a stratagem by means of which all those who resisted Muhammad were to be put to death ; but the narration of these proceedings would lead us too far (17). His object was, not to leave in the mountain a single adversary to Muhammad. When these people were slain, Muhammad perceived that those among the survivors who had thus lost relations or (*a part of their*) family were by no means satisfied ; he therefore assembled them and announced that the kingdom of the sovereign of Morocco would pass into their hands and that the wealth of the enemy would become their prey. On hearing these words, they were much rejoiced and they ceased to regret the loss of their relatives. The details of these events are ample, but they do not enter into our subject (18). We shall only state, in a summary manner, that Muhammad never relaxed his efforts till he sent forth an army of ten thousand men, horse and foot, with Abd al-Mūmin, al-Wansharisi, and all his other disciples, whilst he remained in the mountain. These troops besieged Morocco for the space of a month, but they then met with a most disgraceful defeat, and Abd al-Mūmin took to flight with the survivors. In this engagement, al-Wan-

sharisi lost his life. Muhammad was in the mountain when he received the news, and he died before his partisans returned (19); but, in his last moments, he enjoined the persons present to inform them that victory and complete success awaited them; wherefore they should not despond, but renew the fight; God would enable their hands to achieve a signal triumph; the vicissitudes of war were alternate; his followers would be now strong and now weak, now numerous and now few; their power was only commencing, whilst that of their enemies was drawing to a close. He continued a long series of injunctions in the same style, and then expired. This event took place A. H. 524 (A. D. 1130). He was buried in the mountain, and his tomb is still a well-known object of pilgrimage. His followers designate this year as the *adm al-Buhaira* (20). He was born on the festival of Aashûrâ (10th of Muharram), A. H. 485 (Feb. A. D. 1092). The first time he made his appearance to call the people to his cause was in the year 514 (A. D. 1120.) He was a man of middle size and slight form; his complexion was tawny, his head large, and his eye piercing. The author of the *Kitâb al-Mughrib* says respecting him: "The traces which he has left acquaint thee with his history as plainly as if thou sawest him with thy eyes; his foot was on the earth, but his mind towered to the Pleiades; his soul preferred shedding the water of life (*his own blood*) to shedding the water of the face (*doing a degrading act*). The Almoravites saw him with indifference stop and settle (*in their country*), and they allowed him to steal forward as the dawn steals upon the darkness, and to leave the world filled with the sound (*of his renown*). He laid the basis of an empire which would have obliged Abû Muslim (*vol. II. p. 100*), had he seen it, to acknowledge the foresight of its founder. He subsisted on what his sister earned by spinning: a biscuit each day with a little butter or oil sufficed him, nor did he abandon this simple nourishment when he abounded in worldly wealth. Remarking, one day, that the minds of his followers were turned towards the ample booty which they had obtained, he ordered all the spoil to be heaped together and burnt. "Whoever follows me," said he, "for worldly goods shall have nothing from me but what he sees there, and whoever follows me for the recompense of the next world shall find his reward with God." Though plain in his dress and affable in his manners, he inspired a profound respect; he was of difficult access except for persons who came to complain of oppression, and he had a

“man whose duty was to wait on him and give admittance to visitors.” Ibn Tūmart left some poetry of which we may notice the following passage :

When these people were far off, you lent them your assistance, and when they bade thee farewell, they left thee (*with indifference*). How often were you told to avoid (*them*), yet you would not take advice; how often did you hear admonitions, yet you heeded them not. Whetstone (*of others' wit*)! how long will you sharpen steel, and never receive a cutting edge yourself?

He frequently repeated the following line :

Strip thyself of the world (*and its passions*); for naked thou camest into the world.

And he often quoted proverbially these verses of al-Mutanabbi :

When you strive after glory much-desired, cease not to aspire until you reach the stars. In a mean and in a noble undertaking, the taste of death is quite the same.

The two following passages of the same poet were often repeated by him :

He who knows the times and mankind as well as I do, should quench without remorse his lance's thirst for blood. He would meet no mercy from them if they got him in their power; to hurl destruction on them is not then a crime.

I become not one of them by living among them; sandy earth is the mine in which gold is found.

Muhammad Ibn Tūmart did not make any conquests; he laid the foundations of the dynasty, organised and established it, but the conquests were achieved by Abd al-Mūmin.—*Hargha* means *belonging to Hargha*, which is a large tribe of the Masmūda (*Berbers*), who occupy the mountain of as-Sūs in the farthest extremity of Maghrib (21). They are considered as being descended from al-Hasan, the son of (*the khalif*) Ali Ibn Abi Tālib (22); and it is said that they settled in that place when the country was subdued by Mūsa Ibn Nasir.—*Tūmart* is a Berber name.—*Wansharti* means *belonging to Wansharti*, a village of Ifrikiya in the province of Bugia (23).—Of *Tin-Mall* mention has been already made (*vol. II. p. 184*).—In the life of Abd al-Mūmin we have spoken of the *Jafr*.

(1) The meaning of this title is explained in vol. II. p. 578.

(2) See vol. I. p. 408, and vol. II. p. 864.

(3) Ibn Khaldûn admits as correct a genealogy by which Ibn Tûmart is made to descend from Abî Ibn Abî Tâlib by Sulaimân, the brother of Idris, the progenitor of the Idrisides. Though Ibn Tûmart belonged to the Berber tribe, of Hargha, he was not a member of it by descent, but by a matrimonial alliance contracted by one of his ancestors. Ibn Khaldûn observes that this was also the case with some of the descendants of Idris.

(4) Having examined the collection of treatises composed by Ibn Tûmart, I can bear testimony to the correctness with which his talents are here appreciated. These treatises form a small but closely-written volume, transcribed, as the *post-scriptum* informs us, in the month of Shaabân, A.H. 379 (Nov.-Dec. A.D. 1183), fifty-five years after the author's death. This MS. is in the *Bib. du Roi*, supplement. The doctrines taught by al-Mahdi bore a great resemblance to those of al-Ashari; like him, he had recourse to *tawil*, or allegorical interpretation, in explaining certain verses of the Koran which, if taken in their literal sense, would have led to anthropomorphism, a belief which he accused the Almoravites of professing. His doctrines were orthodox, one single point excepted and which he borrowed from the Shîtes; namely, that the true *imâm*, or spiritual and temporal chief, of the Moslems was impeccable (*masûm*). He particularly insisted on the belief in the unity of God (*tauhid*), and for this reason he gave his disciples the name of *al-Muwahhidûn* (professors of the unity). This denomination has given rise to the word *Almohades* of European writers.

(5) Every Moslim is obliged by his religion to maintain, by his example and exhortations, the strict observance of the law. He cannot employ constraint to effect his purpose, that faculty being reserved for the *kâdi*, the governor, and the police magistrate.

(6) According to the most approved treatises on the oneroeritic science, a branch of knowledge still sedulously cultivated by the Moslems, drinking up the sea means, the acquisition of a great empire.

(7) Ibn Khaldûn says that al-Mahdi landed at Tripoli and proceeded to Bugia, which was then (A.H. 512) under the rule of al-Azîz Ibn al-Mansûr, who expelled him from the city. It appears from the sequel of Ibn Khallikân's relation that he had previously visited al-Mahdiyya. An-Nuwairî says that Ibn Tûmart arrived at al-Mahdiyya, from Tripoli, in the reign of Abî Ibn Yahya.

(8) The meaning of the word *moallak* is thus explained by M. de Sacy in his *Abd-Allatif*, page 482.

(9) According to Ibn Khaldûn, Mallâla lay at the distance of a parasang (*three miles*) from Bugia.

(10) This title signifies: *the relator of extraordinary things concerning the history of the kings of Maghrib*. I suspect this to be the same work which is cited lower down under the title of *Kitâb al-Maghrib*, etc. (*the relator of extraordinary things concerning the honorable characteristics of the people of Maghrib*), and in which the historian and geographer Abû 'l-Hasan Abî Ibn Mûsa al-Gharnâtî (*native of Granada*), generally known by the appellation of Ibn Sald, gives a series of biographical notices on the eminent men of Spain and North Africa. Ibn Sald was born A.H. 610 (A.D. 1214), and he died at Tunis A.H. 685 (A.D. 1296-7). M. de Gayangos has inserted a note on Ibn Sald in the first volume of his *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*. Hajji Khalifa places Ibn Sald's death in the year 673.

(11) See vol. II. p. 184.

(12) The word *تهذيب* means: To extract the essential part of a thing. It seems employed here to denote that he had not attained that degree of proficiency which would enable him to repeat from memory the entire contents of the works which he had studied; in fact, that he was still a mere scholar.

(13) According to Ibn al-Athîr, the Almoravites, the rulers of Morocco at that period, differed from the other Moslems in one remarkable particular: the men wore a veil (*lithâm*) and their women wore none. Al-Mahdi met the sister (*not the daughter*) of the king, taking a ride and accompanied by a numerous train of handsome female slaves, all mounted. The reformer was scandalised at this spectacle, and ordered them

to cover their faces; he and his companions even dared to strike their horses, in consequence of which the princess was thrown off. She complained of this to her brother, who ordered al-Mahdi to be brought before him.—The rest of the narration is given by Ibn Khallikān.

(14) Koran, sūrat 22, verse 28.

(15) These mamlūks were natives of Spain. The Ālmoravites, the Ālmohades, and the Merinides always kept in their capital a regiment of four or five thousand Christians.

(16) In the latter part of this passage, the author has passed from the first to the third person. This is a negligence readily pardoned by Arabian critics, as frequent examples of it are found in the Koran. They observe that, in such cases, the *hikāya* passes into *ikhbār*, or, in other words, that the literal reproduction of a conversation or discourse passes into a mere account given of the same discourse. In the former case the speakers utter their sentiments in the first person, and, in the latter, they are made to speak in the third.

(17) Ibn Tūmart having remarked that a number of profligate and wicked men inhabited the mountain, he assembled the chiefs of the tribes and ordered them to exhort such persons to amend their lives, and to take down the names of those who refused. Having received these lists, Ibn Tūmart caused a second and a third warning to be given to the obstinate. He then selected out of the lists the names of the persons whom he disliked, and gave them to al-Wanṣharī, directing him to pass the tribes in review and to place those people on his left hand. This operation being terminated, al-Māhdi said: "Behold a set of reprobates whom it is a duty to put to death." The people hastened to execute this sentence, each tribe slaying the individuals who belonged to it. That day was ever afterwards called: *Yaum at-Tamyiz* (*the day of the discrimination*).—(Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil at-Tawārīkh*, year 814.)

(18) The Arabic words are *ولسنا بصد ذلك*; an expression which is noticed in another part of this volume.

(19) He died four months after their defeat.—(Ibn Khaldūn.)

(20) An-Nuwairi informs us that, at the siege of Morocco, the Ālmohades, on finding themselves attacked by superior numbers, retreated to the wall of a large garden called al-Buhaira (*the pond*), and, leaning their backs against it, they fought desperately till night put an end to the combat. "And this battle," adds the historian, "was called *the battle of al-Buhaira*, and *the year of al-Buhaira* (*adm al-Buhaira*)."

(21) He means the chain of the Atlas which bounds the south and south-east frontiers of the kingdom of Morocco.

(22) This is a manifest error; the Hargha were a Berber race, and consequently they could not have sprung from an Arabian stock. Ibn Khaldūn observes that many of the indigenous tribes of North Africa sought, by means of false genealogies, to prove their descent from the Arabs.

(23) Wanṣharī is not a village, but a mountain; it lies, not in the province of Bugia, but in the province of Algiers, to the south of Milyāna.

## AL-IKHSIID.

Abū Bakr Muhammad, the son of Abū Muhammad Toghj, the son of Juff, the son of Yaltikin, the son of Fūrān, the son of Fūri, the son of the Khākān of



Farghâna, and lord of the throne of gold (1), was surnamed al-Ikhshid. He drew his descent from the kings of Farghâna and became sovereign of Egypt, Syria, and Hijâz. The word *Toghj* is the equivalent of *Abd ar-Rahmân* (*the servant of the Merciful*). (*The khalif*) al-Motasim billah, the son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, drew into his service, from Farghâna, a great number (*of warriors*), and, being informed of the courage and intrepidity which Juff and some others displayed in war, he sent for them and received them with the highest honour. They obtained from him the concession of certain fiefs (*katâya*) at Sarra man raa (*Samarra*), and one of these grants is called the *Katâya of Juff* to the present day. Juff took up his residence there and became the father of a family. He died at Baghdad the night in which (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil was murdered. This event occurred on the eve of Wednesday, the 3rd of Shawwâl, A. H. 247 (December, A. D. 861). The sons of Juff then went abroad to seek their livelihood, and Toghj entered into the service of Lûlû, the page (*ghulâm*) of Ibn Tûlûn (*vol. I. page 153*); (*the latter*) was at that time residing in Egypt, and had appointed (*Lûlû*) as his lieutenant in that country. Toghj afterwards passed into the service of Ishak Ibn Kandâj (2) and remained with him till the death of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn. A peace having been effected between Abû 'l-Jaish Khumârawaih, the son of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn (*v. I. p. 498*) and Ishak Ibn Kandâj, the former noticed Toghj who was then in Ishak's suite, and being struck by his appearance, he took him from Ishak and gave him the command of all his troops. He appointed him also governor of Damascus and Tiberias. On the death of Khumârawaih, Toghj, who had always remained with him, went to join al-Muktafi billah, and this (*mark of respect*) gave the khalif such satisfaction that he bestowed on him a pelisse of honour. Al-Abbâs Ibn al-Hasan was then al-Muktafi's vizir; accustomed to see all (*the officers of the state*) bend in humble submission to his will, he endeavoured to exact the same deference from Toghj; finding, however, that his spirit scorned to brook such humiliation, he excited the khalif's anger against him, and succeeded in having him and his son, Abû Bakr Muhammad, cast into prison. Toghj died in confinement, but his son at length recovered his liberty and received a pelisse of honour. Burning to avenge the death of their father, Abû Bakr and Obaid Allah waited with unremitting vigilance for an opportunity of attacking the vizir, and they at length obtained the satisfaction of seeing him fall by the hand of al-Husain Ibn Ham-

dân (*vol. II. p. 360*). Obaid Allah then, A. H. 296, went to join Ibn Abi 's-Sâj, and Abû Bakr fled into Syria, where, during the space of a year, he remained a fugitive in the desert. Having then joined Abû Mansûr Tikin al-Khazari (*governor of Egypt and Syria*) (3), he became one of his most efficient supporters, and, being invested by him with the government of Ammân and the mountains of as-Sharât (4), he gained a great name by the expedition which he made to an-Nukaib (5). This was in the year 306 (A. D. 919); a large band had assembled to intercept the pilgrim-caravan, but Abû Bakr marched against them, slew some, took others prisoners, put the rest to flight, and delivered the caravan. A female attached to the palace of the khalif al-Muktadir billah, and known by the name of Ajûz, happened to make the pilgrimage that year, and, on her return, she related to al-Muktadir what she had witnessed of Abû Bakr's (*intrepid conduct*). This account induced the khalif to send him a pelisse of honour and increase his pay. Abû Bakr remained with Tikin till the year 316 (A. D. 928-9), when he left him for a reason too long to be exposed here. He then proceeded to Ramla and received letters from (*the khalif*) al-Muktadir, constituting him governor of that city. He remained in this post till the year 318, when al-Muktadir sent him his nomination as governor of Damascus. He continued at Damascus till the month of Ramadân, 321 (August-September, A. D. 933), when al-Kâhir billah appointed him governor of Egypt. During thirty-two days, the prayer was offered up for him in Egypt (*as governor*), but he had not yet entered it, when al-Kâhir nominated Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Kaighalagh governor of that province for the second time. This appointment took place on the 9th of Shawwâl, A. H. 321. Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Ikhshid was restored to the government of Egypt by ar-Râdi billah, the son of al-Muktadir, on the deposition of his uncle al-Kâhir; and he received from him besides, the command of Syria, Mesopotamia, al-Haramain (*Mekka and Medîna*) and other places. He entered Egypt on Wednesday, the 23rd of Ramadân, A. H. 323 (August, A. D. 935). It is said, however, by some, that, till the death of ar-Râdi, in 329, he possessed only the government of Egypt; Syria, Hijâz, and the other provinces having been then placed under his orders by al-Muttaki lillah, the brother and successor of ar-Râdi. In the month of Ramadân, 327 (June-July, A. D. 939), ar-Râdi granted to him the title of al-Ikhshid because he drew his descent from the kings of Farghâna, a

In the same piece he says :

On reaching that noble prince I shook off all other men, as the traveller, on arriving, shakes from his bag the old and dried remains of his provisions. Yet my joy could hardly compensate my sorrow for having kept away from him during my past life.

This is a long and brilliant *kastda*.—When this arrangement was effected, al-Husain Ibn Obaid Allah married Fâtima, the daughter of his uncle al-Ikhshid, and remained in Syria, but his name was mentioned in the prayer offered up from the pulpit, immediately after the name of Abû Fawâris Ahmad Ibn Ali. Matters continued in this state till Friday the thirteenth of Shaabân, A. H. 358 (July, A. D. 969), when the Maghribin army commanded by the *kâid* Jawhar (*vol. I. page 340*), the general (*of al-Moizz*), entered Old Cairo with flying colours and overthrew the Ikhshidite dynasty after it had subsisted thirty-four years, ten months, and twenty-four days. Some time previously, (*al-Husain*) Ibn Obaid Allah had arrived there from Syria, having fled from the Karmats who had taken possession of that country. He went to the palace of his wife and cousin, Fâtima, and assuming the exercise of sovereign authority, he arrested the vizir Jaafar Ibn al-Furât (*vol. I. p. 349*), whom he put to the torture and amerced in a large sum. He then departed for Syria, on the first of the latter Rabi, A. H. 358 (February, A. D. 969). Jaafar Ibn Falâh (*vol. I. p. 327*) having occupied Syria, into which country he had been dispatched by the *kâid* Jawhar, as we have already related, he took Abû Muhammad (*al-Husain*) Ibn Obaid Allah prisoner and sent him with a number of Syrian emirs to Jawhar, who had remained in Egypt. They entered Old Cairo in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 359 (March-April, A. D. 970), and, as (*al-Husain*) Ibn Obaid Allah had tyrannised over the Egyptians during the time of his rule, (*the guards*) kept their prisoners standing and exposed to public gaze, for the space of five hours, much to the satisfaction of those who had to complain of their conduct. They were then brought into Jawhar's tent and placed among the other captives kept there in chains. On the seventeenth of the first Jumâda, the *kâid* Jawhar dispatched his son Jaafar to al-Moizz, with a quantity of presents too precious to be described, and he sent off with him the prisoners brought from Syria. They were put into a boat on the Nile whilst Jawhar stood by and looked on; the boat upset, and (*al-Husain*) Ibn Obaid Allah cried out to him: "Do you mean to drown

“us?” Jawhar offered some excuses and made a great show of pity for his unfortunate prisoner. They were then removed into another boat, all of them bound in chains. This is the last information I could learn respecting al-Husain. I have since found, in the historical work composed by al-Otâki (*vol. I. p. 280*), that al-Husain died on the eve of Friday, the 20th of Rajab, A. H. 374 (January, A. D. 982), and that the funeral prayer was said over him in the citadel of Cairo by al-Aziz Nizâr, the son of al-Moizz. Al-Farghânî states, in his history (42), that al-Husain was born in the year 342 (A. D. 924-5); he assigns also to his death the date which has been just given. According to the same author, Abû Fawâris Ahmad Ibn Ali died on the 13th of the first Rabi, A. H. 377 (July, A. D. 987). *Al-Ikhshîd, Toghj, Juff* or *Jaff, Yaltikîn, Fâran, Fâri*; such is the pronunciation of the names *فران*, *يَلْتِكِين*, *جَف*, *طَعَج*, *لَاخْشِيد*. The Tîkin mentioned in this article was thrice governor of Egypt; he died on Saturday, the 16th of the first Rabi, A. H. 324 (March, A. D. 933), whilst occupying that post for the third time. He was succeeded by Abû Bakr al-Ikhshîd. The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p. 252*) gives a separate article on Ahmad Ibn Kaighalagh, in his History of Damascus: speaking of his administration in Egypt, he says: “A warfare was carried on between him and Muhammad, the son of Tîkin, but he finally remained in the full possession of his authority. “Muhammad Ibn Toghj was then sent by the khalif ar-Râdi as emir over Egypt, “and Ibn Kaighalagh resigned the command to him. Ahmad possessed abilities as a scholar and a poet; in one of his poems he says:

“On rainy days, let not the goblet linger in thy hand (*but pass it round*); knowest thou not that rain is an urgent cupbearer (13)?

“His brother Ibrahim Ibn Kaighalagh died on the first of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. “303 (May, A. D. 946).” Ishak, the son of Ibrahim, was the governor of Tripoli who, when al-Mutanabbi visited that city on his journey from Ramlah to Antioch, endeavoured to extort from the poet a *kasîda* in his praise. Al-Mutanabbi not only refused to gratify his wish, but attacked him in a satire commencing thus:

Men's hearts love a secret known to none but them, etc.

He then left him, and having afterwards learned his death in Jabala, he said :

They told us Ishak was dead, and I said to them, etc.

These two *kasîdas* are to be found in his *diwân*, for which reason I omit them. He composed also other satires against the same person.

(1) *The lord of the throne of gold*, in Arabic: *Sâhib sarîr ad-Dahâb*. D'Herbelot says that the *throne of gold* was the name given to a country or province situated near Derbend, between the Black Sea and the Caspian. It was so called because the Marzubân, or governor, enjoyed the privilege of sitting on a throne of gold.

(2) Whilst the Zenj were attacking the dominions of the khalif on the southern side, Ibn Abi 's-Sâj, the governor of Kinnisrîn in the north of Syria, and Ishak Ibn Kandâj, or Kandâjik, the governor of Mosul, took possession, the former of Syria, and the latter of Mesopotamia. These two chiefs then waged war against each other, and Ibn Kandâj acknowledged Khumârawaih for his sovereign. He subsequently turned his arms against the Egyptians, and during some years a desperate struggle for power was maintained between four parties: Khumârawaih, the khalif, Ibn Kandâj, and Ibn Abi 's-Sâj. The details of their proceedings are given by Ibn al-Athîr.

(3) Ibn Khallikân has a short notice on this person, towards the end of the present article. Abû 'l-Mahâsin gives an account of his government in the *Nujûm*.

(4) Ammân and as-Sharât lie between the Dead Sea and Aila.

(5) An-Nukaib lies in the north-west extremity of Arabia, between Maan and Tabûk, on the road of the pilgrims from Syria to Mekka.—(*Marâsid*.)

(6) Abû Mahâsin adds: *in the language of the Farghanians*.

(7) To this list may be added, on the authority of Abû 'l-Mahâsin in the *Nujûm*, year 320. *Al-Isbahid* (الاصبيد), the title of the king of Tabaristân; *Sâl* (صول), that of the king of Jurjân; *al-Ishtn*, that of the king of Ushrushna; *Sâmân*, that of the king of Samarkand, and *Firawn*, that of the king of Egypt in ancient times.

(8) It is impossible to render exactly the terse concision of the Arabic words *شق عنه*; their literal translation would be, *it was split off from him, difissum fuit ab eo*, but these expressions are unintelligible. Pliny says: *Primusque Cæsarium à cæso matris utero dictus*.—*Hist. Nat.* VII. 7, 9.

(9) In translating these fragments I have followed the authority of the excellent commentary on al-Mutanabbi preserved in the *Bib. du Roi*. In the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân these verses are disfigured by errors resulting from the negligence or ignorance of copyists.

(10) The word *Barka* signifies *a stony soil*: a number of places bore this name, one of them in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates.

(11) Bracelets were worn by chiefs and great men.

(12) See vol. I. pages 155, 200.

(13) This is a quibble; the verse signifies also: Knowest thou not that rain is an impetuous waterer?

## TOGHRULBEK AS-SALJUKI.

Abû Tâlib Mikayîl Ibn Saljûk Ibn Dukâk, surnamed Rukn ad-din Toghrulbek (*Toghrulbek, the column of the faith*), was the first monarch of the Seljûk dynasty. This people, before it established its domination over so many kingdoms, dwelt *beyond the river (in Transoxiana)* at a place twenty parasangs distant from Bokhara. They were Turks, and their numbers were immense; they lived in complete independence, and, when armies too strong for them to resist were sent against them, they passed into the deserts and took refuge in the midst of the sands, where no one could approach them. Mahmûd Ibn Subuktîkin, sultan of Khorâsân, Ghazna, and that country (*we shall give his life*), having crossed the river and entered Transoxiana, he found the leader of the Seljûkides to be a powerful chief, maintaining a numerous people in subjection (*more*) by wile and cunning (*than by force*); always moving from one region to another and making incursions into the neighbouring provinces. Having employed every means to gain his confidence and draw him (*to the camp*), he at length succeeded in circumventing him; and, on the chieftain's arrival, he seized upon him and sent him off to a castle, where he remained in confinement. Mahmûd's insidious policy was then directed against his prisoner's partisans, and, having consulted the principal officers of his empire on the measures to be taken with regard to them, some gave their opinion that they should be drowned in the Jaihûn (*the Oxus*), whilst others advised him to cut off their thumbs and thus preclude them from the possibility of drawing the bow and wielding arms; various plans were proposed, but they finally agreed on the propriety of transporting them across the Jaihûn and dispersing them throughout the province of Khorâsân, where they should be constrained to pay the tax (*al-kharâj*) to government. This advice was adopted, and the Seljûks continued for some time to hold a submissive and peaceful line of conduct. This encouraged the collectors of the revenue to oppress them, to seize on their wealth and flocks, and to grind them down by their extortions and tyranny: the consequence was, that two thousand tents (*or families*) emigrated to Kirmân. The emir Abû 'l-Fawâris Bahâ ad-Dawlat, the son of Adud ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, who then ruled over that

country, received them with kindness and arrayed their chiefs in robes of honour; he even resolved on taking them into his service, but ten days had scarcely elapsed when he died. The fugitives immediately hastened their departure through dread of the Dailamites who inhabited that country, and, having proceeded to Ispahân, which was then under the rule of Alâ ad-Dawlat Abû Jaafar Ibn Kâkûyah, they encamped outside the city. This prince wished to employ them in his service, but, having received a letter from the sultan Muḥmūd, ordering him to attack them and seize on their property, he proceeded to obey, and a combat ensued which cost many lives to both parties. The survivors set out for Adarbaidjân, and those who had remained in Khorasân retired to a mountain near Khawârezm. The sultan Mahmūd sent an army against them which pursued them through these deserts during the space of nearly two years; he then took the field himself and followed them with unremitting activity till they were completely dispersed. On the death of Mahmūd, his son and successor Masūd found himself under the necessity of strengthening his army, and wrote to the Seljûkides in Adarbaidjân, inviting them to come to his assistance. One thousand horsemen having joined him, he took them into his pay and led them towards Khôrâsân. At the request of his new allies, he wrote to the remnant of the Seljûkides whom his father had dispersed, and, having obtained from them the promise of obedience, he granted them an amnesty, and reinstated them, on their arrival, in all the privileges which his father had conceded to them at first. Masūd then passed into India to appease the troubles which had broken out there, and the Seljûkides took advantage of his absence to resume their disorderly conduct and ravage the country. During the course of these events, the history of which would lead us too far, the sultan Toghrulbek and his brother Dâwūd had remained in Transoxiana and encountered Malak Shâh, the sovereign of Bukhâra, where they lost a great number of their partisans in a desperate conflict. This defeat forced them to retire among their people in Khorasân and to write to Masūd, imploring mercy and requesting to be taken into his service. To this prayer Masūd replied by imprisoning their messengers and sending an army against the Seljûks in Khorasân. A bloody battle ensued, subsequently to which they obtained their pardon on giving proofs of their complete submission to his authority and engaging to conquer the province of Khawârezm. Masūd having then tranquillised their hearts and set at

liberty the ambassadors sent from Transoxiana, they requested him to abate the rigour of the confinement in which their chief had lingered from the time of his arrestation by the sultan Mahmūd. In pursuance of their desire, Masūd caused the prisoner to be removed from the castle and taken, bound in chains, to Balkh. The captive prince then asked permission to write to his nephews, Toghrulbek and Dâwūd, and, having obtained Masūd's consent, he opened a correspondence with these chiefs. The consequence was that Toghrulbek and Dâwūd assembled all their people and marched with a large army into Khorâsân. They had then contests, too numerous to be related, with the officers who commanded in that country and with the lieutenants whom Masūd had established in its cities. The result of this expedition was a complete triumph for the Seljûkides. The first city of which they gained possession was Tûs,—(or Rai, according to another statement,)—having effected its conquest in the year 429 (A. D. 1037-8), and, in the month of Ramadân of the same year, they took Naisâpûr, one of the capitals of Khorâsân. The sultan Toghrulbek was the chief of this people, and to him alone pertained the sovereign authority. His brother Dâwūd, the conqueror of Balkh, was the father of Alp Arslân, a prince whose life we shall give. At the commencement of their victorious career, *the two brothers* acknowledged the authority of Masūd, and offered up the prayer for him as their sovereign, but, when they had shared their widely extended conquests (*they withheld this homage*) and Masūd retired into the province of Ghazna. Their power became so great that the *imâm (khalif)* al-Kâim bi-amrillah sent an embassy to them, and the person whom he selected for this mission was the *kâdi* Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Habîb al-Mâwardî, the author of the *Hâwî* (vol. II. p. 224). (*On this occasion, al-Mâwardî*) exhorted them to fear God, to govern their subjects with justice and mildness, and to extend their beneficence to the people (1). Toghrulbek was mild and generous; every day, at the regular hours, he said the five prayers with the congregation (*in the mosque*); he fasted every Monday and Thursday; he wrought numerous works of charity; he founded mosques, and he used to say: "I should be ashamed to appear before God, were I to build for myself a dwelling and not erect a mosque beside it." The following is one of his honourable deeds, enregistered by history: He sent the *sharîf* Nâsir Ibn Ismail on an embassy to the queen of the Greeks (*Theodora*), who was an unbeliever; and the *sharîf* asked her for permis-



sion to preside at the prayer of Friday in the mosque at Constantinople. Having obtained this authorisation, he said the prayer and pronounced the *khotba* in the name of the *imâm* al-Kâim. This circumstance gave great offence to the ambassador of al-Mustansir al-Obaidi, the sovereign of Egypt, who happened to be present, and it was one of the principal causes which led to the rupture between the Egyptians and the Greeks. — When Toghrulbek had effected his conquests and obtained possession of Irâk and Baghdad, he sent to the *imâm* al-Kâim and asked his daughter in marriage. This demand caused the khalif great vexation; and, as he wished it to be withdrawn, frequent messages passed between him and the sultan. This fact is mentioned in the *Shudâr* (2) under the year 453 (A.D. 1061.) Finding it impossible to withhold his consent, al-Kâim yielded at last, and the marriage contract was ratified outside the gate of Tabriz. Toghrulbek then proceeded to Baghdad, in the year 455 (A.D. 1063), and, on his arrival, he sent for his bride, (to whom) he transmitted a present of one hundred thousand dinars, to defray the expenses incurred by the removal of her furniture (*haml al-kumâsh*). On the eve of Monday, the 15th of Safar, she was borne in state to the royal palace, where her husband awaited her, and, having taken her seat on a throne covered with cloth of gold, she received his visit. On appearing before her, he kissed the ground, but did not remove the veil from her face in that interview; having then offered her a quantity of presents magnificent beyond description, he kissed the ground again, remained for some time in a respectful posture, and retired, manifesting the utmost delight at his reception. — The events which marked the course of the Seljûk dynasty are very numerous, and have occupied the attention of many historians (3); these writers have composed works on the subject, including every detail, and my sole motive in giving the preceding sketch was, to point out the origin of their power and expose the real circumstances of their early history, for the satisfaction of those who might desire such information. — Toghrulbek died at Rai on Friday, the 18th of Ramadan, A. H. 455 (September, A. D. 1063), aged seventy years. His body was carried to Marw and interred near the tomb of his brother Dâwûd. We shall have occasion to speak of Dâwûd in the life of his son Alp Arslân. Ibn al-Hamadâni (*vol. I. p. 406, n. (3)*) says, in his history, that he was buried in a funeral chapel at Rai, and as-Samâni (*vol. II. p. 156*) makes the same statement in that article of his *Zail* (or *supplement*) which he has devoted to the

life of the sultan Sinjar.—His vizir Muhammad Ibn Mansûr al-Kunduri, a person whose life shall be given (*in this volume*), relates that Toghrulbek once said : “ When in Khorâsân, I dreamed that I was raised up to heaven in a cloud which prevented me from seeing, but I smelt a sweet perfume and I heard a voice exclaim : ‘Thou art near unto the throne of the Creator, may his power be glorified ! ask what thou needest ; it shall be granted.’ On hearing these words, I said within myself : ‘I ask thee for length of life ;’ and a voice answered : ‘Thou shalt have seventy years.’ I replied : ‘O Lord ! that sufficeth me not ;’ and it said : ‘For thee are seventy years.’ ” This anecdote is mentioned by our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athîr (*v. II. p. 288*), in his history. When Toghrulbek was at the point of death, he said : “ I am like unto a sheep ; its legs were tied that it might be shorn of its wool, and it thought that it was tied for slaughter ; it therefore struggled, and, when let loose, it rejoiced ; then, it was tied for slaughter, and thinking that it was for the shearing of its wool, it remained quiet and was killed. Now, this sickness which hath come upon me is the binding of my legs for slaughter.” The daughter of al-Kâim remained with him about six months : she died on the sixth of Muharram, A. H. 496 (Oct. A. D. 1102.) As Toghrulbek left no male children, his kingdom devolved to his nephew Alp Arslân.—*Toghrulbek* is a Turkish compound name : the Turks employ the word *toghrul* to designate a species of bird (*falcon*) well known in that country, and it is used also as a proper name for men ; *bek* signifies commander (*amîr*).—(*Jaihûn*) is the name of the great river which separates Khuwârezm and Khorâsân from Bokhâra, Samarkand, and that country : all the region on the (*Bokhâra*) side of the river is called *the country beyond the river* (*ma warâ ’n-nahr*) (4). It is one of those rivers of Paradise which are mentioned in the Tradition, where it is said that four rivers flow out of it ; two of them manifest, and two hidden ; the manifest being the Nile and the Euphrates, and the hidden, the Jaihûn and the Saihûn (5).—The *Saihûn* is situated at a fifteen days’ journey beyond the Jaihûn, near the country of the Turks. Though these rivers are very large and wide, they freeze over in winter, so that travellers can cross them with their beasts of burden ; they remain frozen about three months. These observations, though foreign to our purpose, have some connection with the article in which we are here engaged, and discourse will run into digressions : besides, those readers who dwell in other countries and are ignorant of the position in which these

localities lie, will find in the remarks here given the information which they are naturally led to expect.

(1) Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni speaks of two envoys; one called Abû Bakr at-Tûsi, and the other Abû Muhammad Hibat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Mâmûn. He does not notice the mission of al-Mâwardî.

(2) The *Shudâr al-Okâd* is an historical work composed by Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi. His life will be found in vol. II. page 96 of this work.

(3) The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni composed a work on the subject which was remodelled by al-Bundâhi. See MSS. *fonds St. Germain*, No. 327, and *ancien fonds*, No. 767. Ibn al-Athîr gives copious information respecting them in his *Kâmil*, and Mirkhond in his *Rauḍa tas-Safâ*. This section of Mirkhond's work was published, with a German translation, by professor Vullers, at Giessen, in 1838.

(4) *Transoxiana*, a word of modern invention, is well adapted to express the meaning of *Ma-ward 'n-nahr*.

(5) In the *Masâbih*, MS. of the Bib. du Roi, fonds Ducaurroi, No. 8, fol. 322, we read as follows: "The *Saiḥân* and the *Jaiḥân* and the Euphrates and the Nile are all rivers of Paradise." I have not been able to discover, in al-Bukhârî, the Tradition given here by Ibn Khallikân; it is evidently founded on the 10th, 11th, 13th, and 14th verses of the second chapter of Genesis.

### ALP ARSLAN AS-SALJUKI.

Abû Shujâa Muhammad, the son of Tcheghribek Dâwûd, the son of Mikâyil, the son of Saljûk, the son of Dukâk, surnamed Adud ad-Dawlat Alp Arslân (*the arm of the empire, the hero lion*), was the nephew of Toghrulbek. In the life of that sultan (*p. 229 of this volume*), we have mentioned some facts connected with the history of Dâwûd, Alp Arslân's father. When Toghrulbek was drawing near his end, he nominated as his successor Sulaimân, the son of Dâwûd and brother of Alp Arslân, having been led to make this choice by the influence of Sulaimân's mother, who was then with him. Sulaimân assumed the supreme command, but, having to sustain a war with his brother Alp Arslân and his uncle Shihâb ad-Dawlat Kutulmish, who revolted against him, he was unable to establish his authority. Alp Arslân having gained the victory, took possession of the empire, and, become formidable by his power, he increased his possessions by conquests which his uncle Toghrulbek had never been able to achieve. In his expedition to Syria, he laid siege to Aleppo, which was at that time under the rule of Mahmûd Ibn Nasr Ibn Sâlih Ibn Mirdâs al-Kilâbi; negotiations being

opened between the two parties, Alp Arslân declared that Mahmûd should come and *tread on his carpet (do him homage)*, if he wished for peace. Mahmûd therefore went by night with his mother to the tent of Alp Arslân, who received them with great kindness, arrayed them in robes of honour, sent them back to their city, and then decamped. Al-Mâmûni (*vol. II. p. 334*) says in his History: "It is said " that neither in ancient nor in Islamic times, did any Turkish king, prior to " Alp Arslân, cross the Euphrates." On his return, he resolved to march into the country of the Turks, and, having assembled an army of at least two hundred thousand horse, he threw a bridge across the Jaihûn (*Oxus*) and spent a month in getting his troops over the river. He then followed, and, on the 6th of the first Rabi, A. H. 465 (Nov. A. D. 1072), he prepared a grand feast in a village called Farabr, the citadel of which was situated on the bank of the Jaihûn, and commanded by an officer called Yûsuf al-Khuwârezmi. This person was led the same day, bound with cords, into Alp Arslân's presence, and accused of some misconduct relative to the citadel. When he was brought near, the monarch ordered four stakes to be driven into the ground and that the prisoner, after having been attached to them by the arms and legs, should be tortured and put to death. On hearing this sentence, Yûsuf exclaimed: "Is it for " a man like me that such a punishment is reserved (1)?" Alp Arslân, being incensed at these words, seized his bow and, fitting an arrow to it, he ordered the prisoner to be unbound, meaning to display his skill in archery, an accomplishment in which he took great pride. Having missed his aim, he rose from the throne in which he was seated, but he stumbled on getting down and fell on his face; Yûsuf instantly sprung forward and plunged a dagger into his side, but was immediately killed by an Armenian tent-pitcher, who struck him on the head with a hammer. Alp Arslân was carried to another tent, and, having sent for his vizir Nizâm al-Mulk (*vol. I. p. 413*), he gave him his dying injunctions and recommended him to his son Malak Shâh, whom he designated as successor to the throne. He expired on Saturday, the tenth of the month above mentioned. He was born in the year 424 (A. D. 1032-3). His reign lasted nine years and some months. His body was transported to Marw and interred near the tombs of his father Dâwûd and his uncle Toghrulbek. Although Baghdad was included in his empire, he never entered nor saw that city. It was he who built the mausoleum which covers the tomb of Abû Hanîfa. He erected also a

college at Baghdad, on which he spent large sums. It is stated in the *Zubdat-Tawdrikh* (2), that he received his mortal wound on Saturday, the 30th of the first Rabi, A. H. 465 (December, A. D. 1072), and that he survived three days; God knows best (*whether this date is truer than the one given above*). We have already spoken of his father (*Dāwūd*) and mentioned that he was sovereign of Balkh; he died in that city in the month of Rajab, A. H. 454 (August-September, A. D. 1059). His body was carried to Marw and interred there. Some say that *Dāwūd* died at Marw. According to another statement, he died in the month of Safar, A. H. 452 (March-April, A. D. 1060), and was interred in the college which he had founded at Marw. We have already spoken of his son Tutush (*vol. I. page 273*).—*Alp Arslān* is a Turkish word signifying *the hero lion*; *alp* means *hero*, and *arslān*, *lion*.—Shihāb ad-Dawlat Kutulmish, the son of Israyil, the son of Saljūk, was the father of Sulaimān Ibn Kutulmish, the ancestor of the dynasty which governs Asia Minor (*Rūm*) to this day. He possessed a number of fortresses and castles, such as Guirdkūl (*in Zabalistān*), and others in Persian Irāk. He revolted against his nephew Alp Arslān and encountered him in battle near Rai. When the conflict ended, Kutulmish was found dead, but the cause of his death remained unknown. This took place in the month of Muharram, A. H. 456 (January, A. D. 1064). It was said that he died of fright, and this circumstance gave great vexation to Alp Arslān.

(1) Or, according to Ibn al-Athīr and his epitomizer Abū 'l-Fedā: "*Infamous wretch (ya mukhannath)!* " *is it for a man like me,*" etc.

(2) (*The cream of histories*). Hajji Khalifa indicates three works bearing this title: all of them composed subsequently to the time of our author.

### MUHAMMAD IBN MALAK SHAH AS-SALJUKI.

Abū Shujāa Muhammad, the son of Malak Shāh, the son of Alp Arslān (see the preceding article), was surnamed Ghiāth ad-din (*succour of religion*). We omit the remainder of his genealogy, as it has been already given in the article

on his grandfather (*page 234 of this volume*). On the death of Malak Shâh, the empire was divided between his three sons, Barkyârûk (*vol. I. p. 251*), Sinjar (*vol. I. p. 600*), and Muhammad: the two latter were sons of the same mother, and little notice was taken of them whilst Barkyârûk reigned; the fact being that he was considered as sultan and they appeared to be only his subordinates. Dissensions having sprung up between Muhammad and Barkyârûk, the former proceeded to Baghdad with his brother Sinjar, and the *imâm* al-Mustazhir billah arrayed them in robes of honour. Muhammad had previously requested that the Commander of the faithful would grant a solemn reception to his brother Sinjar and himself. The khalif consented to his desire, and, having held a sitting to receive them in the Saloon of the Crown (*kubbd tat-Tûj*), in the presence of all his officers and their followers, he took his seat on the throne, with the Prophet's mantle on his shoulders, the turban on his head, the sceptre placed before him, and Saif ad-Dawlat Sadaka Ibn Mazyad (*v. I. p. 634*), the lord of al-Hilla, standing on the right of the throne. He then arrayed Muhammad in seven pelisses, according to the custom followed with respect to sultans, and, having put the collar round his neck, the crown on his head, and the bracelets on his arms, he knotted a standard for him with his own hand, suspended two swords from his shoulder, and presented him with five horses fully caparisoned. He clothed Sinjar in the same number of pelisses. The customary *khotba* was then said in the great mosque of Baghdad, and Muhammad was named in it as sultan: the *khotba* for Barkyârûk had been suppressed for motives which it is needless to explain. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni (*vol. I. p. 405*) states, in his History, that this took place in A. H. 495 (A. D. 1101-2). The author of the History of the Seljuikides says that the *khotba* was said at Baghdad in Muhammad's name, for the first time, on the 17th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 492 (November, A. D. 1099), and other writers agree with him in this point. Al-Hamadâni adds: A singular circumstance occurred: the preacher in the mosque of the palace (*al-Kasr*) at Baghdad, was saying the *khotba*, and having come to the place in which the prayer was made for the sultan Barkyârûk, he substituted unintentionally for this name the name of the sultan Muhammad. On this, the partisans of Barkyârûk came forward and blamed bitterly the line of conduct held by the court of Baghdad (*ad-Diwân al-Azîz*). The preacher was deprived of his place and his son nominated to suc-

ceed him. A very few days after, the *khotba* was authorised to be said for the sultan Muhammad, and the occurrence itself proved to be an omen of the honour which he was about to receive. Barkyârûk was unwell at the time, and had gone down to Wâsit; but, having afterwards strengthened his authority and augmented his army, he gave battle to his brother, near Rai, and routed his troops. The history of these events would lead us, however, too far (1). Muhammad was the bravest and boldest of the Seljûk sultans; he shone pre-eminent by his valiant deeds, his virtuous conduct, his universal justice, his charity to the indigent and the orphan, his wars with the followers of impious doctrines, and his close attention to the welfare of his subjects. Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaûfi (*vol. II. p. 556*) mentions, in his History of Arbela, that Muhammad arrived in that city on the 9th of the first Rabi', A. H. 498 (November, A. D. 1104), and that he left it for Mosul on the 12th of the same month. He then adds that he found in a book the following passage: "The *imâm* Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâlî (*vol. II. p. 621*) said, in an address to the sultan Muhammad, the son of Malak Shâh: 'Sultan of the universe! the children of Adam form two classes; one of them heedless (*of their salvation*), who fix their eyes on the spectacle of worldly prosperity, who cling to the hope of a long life and who reflect not on the moment in which they shall breathe their last; the other is the class of the wise, who keep their eyes fixed on their dying hour, who reflect on what they shall become, on the manner in which they may quit the world in preserving their faith unaltered, on the worldly goods which they shall take with them into their tombs, and on those which they shall leave behind them as an affliction and a source of woe to their enemies.'"—On the death of Barkyârûk, the sultan Muhammad became sole master of the empire; no rival remained to resist him, and his reign was a course of uninterrupted prosperity. He died, after a long illness, on Thursday, the 24th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 511 (April, A. D. 1118), at Ispahân, aged thirty-seven years, four months, and six days. He was interred in the great college which he had founded in that city for the followers of the Hanafite sect. It surpasses every establishment of the same kind in Ispahân. When he lost all hopes of recovery, he sent for his son Mahmûd, and, having kissed him, they both wept together; he then told him to go out and take his seat on the imperial throne and look into public affairs. On this, Mahmûd ob-

served that it was an unlucky day ; meaning that the stars had declared it such. " True," replied Muḥammad, " it is unlucky for thy father, but lucky for thee, " since it makes thee a sultan." Maḥmūd then went out and took his seat on the throne, with the crown on his head and the bracelets on his arms.—None of the Seljūk kings left such a quantity of treasure, wealth, horses, and other valuable objects as he; it would be too long to make an enumeration of what he possessed. We shall give the life of his father.—The *imām* al-Muktafi li-amr illah married Fâtima, the sultan Muḥammad's daughter, in the year 531 (A. D. 1136-7). The vizir Sharaf ad-din Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Tirâd az-Zainabi (*vol. III. p. 156*) acted as his proxy on that occasion. Her brother Masūd was present at the ratification of the contract. Three years later, she was conducted in pomp to the palace of the khalif. It is said that she could read and write. In political matters she displayed the justest views. She inhabited (*the palace called*) Dergâh Khâtûn (*the hall of the princess*), and she died within its walls, on Saturday, the 22nd of the latter Rabi, A. H. 542 (September, A. D. 1147). She was interred at ar-Rusâfa.

(1) See Abû 'l-Fedâ, Price's *Retrospect*, and Vuller's *Mirkhond*.

### AL-MALIK AD-AADIL, THE BROTHER OF SALAH AD-DIN.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abi 's-Shukr Aiyûb Ibn Shâdi Ibn Marwân, surnamed al-Malik al-Aâdil Saif ad-din (*the just king, the sword of religion*), was brother to the sultan Salâh ad-din. We have already spoken of his father (*vol. I. page 243*), and shall speak of his brother in the letter Y. Al-Malik al-Aâdil entered Egypt at the same time as his brother and his uncle Asad ad-din Shîr-kûh (*vol. I. page 626*), and he used to relate that, when on the point of setting out, he wanted a wallet for the road and asked one from his father. " My father gave me one," said he, " and addressed me thus : ' O Abû Bakr ! when " you get possession of Egypt, return it to me filled with gold.' " On his arrival " in Egypt, he asked me for the wallet, on which I went and filled it with black



“ dirhems (1), placing some pieces of gold on the top. I presented it to him,  
 “ and he at first thought it was gold, but, on turning it down, the silver pieces  
 “ dropped out: ‘Ah, Abū Bakr!’ said he, ‘thou hast learned from the Egyptians  
 “ ‘how to pass off false money.’” The sultan Salāh ad-dīn having established  
 his authority in Egypt, he left al-Malik al-Aādil as his lieutenant in that country  
 on proceeding to Syria, and he then applied to him for money when he had to  
 pay his troops or defray other expenses. I saw in one of al-Kādi ‘l-Fādil’s (v. II.  
 p. 141) epistles that, on one occasion, a delay having occurred in forwarding a  
 convoy of specie, the sultan ordered Imād ad-dīn al-Ispahāni to write to al-Malik  
 al-Aādil, and insist on his sending it off immediately; he even went so far as to  
 say: “Let him send us a convoy of our own money or else of his.” When al-Malik  
 al-Aādil received the letter and read this passage, he was highly displeased and  
 wrote to al-Kādi ‘l-Fādil, complaining of the sultan. On this, al-Kādi ‘l-Fādil  
 drew up an answer to Imād ad-dīn’s letter, and, in this document, he inserted  
 the following passage: “As to his lordship’s words: *let him send us a convoy of*  
 “ *our own money or else of his*; they cannot be considered as the demand of a  
 “ master for a necessary provision, but rather as the addition made by a secre-  
 “ tary in order to give a cadence to the phrase: how many the expressions which  
 “ are offensive! how many the rude words which have served merely to dispel  
 “ the languor of the pen and fill up the hiatus of discourse! It was on your  
 “ humble servant that fell the hurt produced by this pointed expression, of  
 “ which, O what a silencing effect escaped from the tongue of the pen! Your  
 “ humble servant was present when those strokes of incitation were heard, and  
 “ (*I swear*) by the audacity of Imād ad-dīn, that the cry of the falcon gives au-  
 “ dacity to the kites (2). Adieu.” When the sultan Salāh ad-dīn took pos-  
 session of Aleppo, in the month of Safar, A. H. 579 (May-June, A. D. 1183), as  
 we have already stated in our article on Imād ad-dīn Zinkī (3), he gave (*the go-  
 vernment of*) that city to his son al-Malik az-Zāhir Ghāzi (vol. II. p. 443), but he  
 afterwards took it from him and bestowed it on al-Malik al-Aādil, who proceeded  
 thither the same year, and went up to the castle on Friday, the 22nd of Rama-  
 dān. By a subsequent arrangement made with his brother Salāh ad-dīn, al-  
 Malik al-Aādil gave up the city to al-Malik az-Zāhir Ghāzi, and left the place on  
 the eve of Saturday, the 24th of the first Rabi, A. H. 582 (June, A. D. 1186).  
 He then received from the sultan the fortress of al-Karak, and he subse-

quently passed from the command of one province to that of another, not only during the lifetime of his brother, but after his death. The history of his proceedings with al-Malik al-Afdal, al-Malik al-Aziz and al-Malik az-Zâhir is so well known that we need not enter into details (4). It may suffice to state that he finally obtained possession of Egypt, and that, having made his entry into Cairo the 16th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 596 (February, A. D. 1200), he fully established his authority in that country. In the biographical notice on Diâ ad-din Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Allah, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Athir al-Jazari (5), which Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi has inserted in his History of Arbela, we read as follows: "And I found in his (*Diâ ad-din's*) handwriting " that the *khotba* was said in Old and New Gairo for al-Malik al-Aâdil Abû Bakr " Ibn Aiyûb, on Friday, the 21st of Shawwâl, A. H. 596 (August, A. D. 1200), " and that it was said for him in Aleppo on Friday, the 14th of the latter Ju- " mâda, A. H. 598 (March, A. D. 1202)." Having obtained possession of Syria also and of as-Sharkiya (*the East, Mesopotamia*), success attended all his projects, and, in the year 612 (A. D. 1215-6), he became master of Yemen, to which country he dispatched (*as governor*) his grandson al-Malik al-Masûd (*the fortunate prince*) Salâh ad-din Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf, the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil, and generally known by the appellation of Atsis. His son al-Malik al-Auhad Najm ad-din (*the unequalled prince, the star of the religion*) Aiyûb governed as his lieutenant the city and districts of Maiyâfârikin, and, in the year 604 (A. D. 1207-8), he took possession of Khalât (6) and Armenia. His kingdom then received a great extension. Al-Malik al-Aâdil having assured the tranquil exercise of his power in all these states, divided them between his sons: al-Malik al-Kâmil received Egypt for his share, al-Malik al-Moazzam obtained Syria, al-Malik al-Ashraf got as-Sharkiya, and al-Malik al-Auhad retained the countries which we have already indicated. Al-Aâdil was a powerful monarch, displaying great fortitude and information, having well profited by the lessons of experience; virtuous in his conduct, always animated with the best intentions and gifted with consummate prudence; he was resolute in his undertakings, holy in his life, attentive to fulfil the duty of prayer at the regular hours, a friend to the professors of the orthodox belief and partial to the learned in the law. It is not therefore astonishing that Fakhr ad-din ar-Râzi (*vol. II. p. 652*) should have composed and dedicated to this sovereign the (*metaphysical*) work entitled *Tâsis*

*at-Takdīs (confirmatio sanctificationis)*, which he sent to him from Khorāsān. We may conclude his history by stating that he was highly fortunate in every way : no other monarch ever left sons so illustrious, so brave, so learned, and so high-minded as his ; nations acknowledged their sway, and the finest kingdoms of the earth formed their empire. When the poet Ibn Onain celebrated the praises of al-Malik al-Aādil in the *kasīda* of which we have already given a fragment (p. 181 of this volume) and which rhymes in *r*, he introduced into it the following eulogium on that prince's sons :

He has sons, one of whom, in every land, leads an army against the foe ; each, by the brightness of his forehead, seems a moon, but, when in combat, a lion ; he presses forward to the fight, but, when the bright (*swords*) dispel (*the darkness of*) the dust and disclose to view the bright (*maidens*) of the (*captured*) harem, he retires. 'Tis a family pure in origin, excellent in race, copious in liberality, pleasing to behold. Their steeds scorn to drink from a stream unless its waters be encrimsoned by the blood of battles. They hasten with delight to the fire of combat, but they are not capable of hastening to the fire of hospitality (7).

How many the exquisite *kasīdas* which poets have composed on the members of this family ! but I shall only notice the foregoing piece, because it applies to them all. The same poem contains the following passage in praise of al-Malik al-Aādil ; the author has displayed in it superior abilities :

(*He is*) the just (*al-addil*), the king (*al-malik*), whose titles in every region ennoble the pulpits (*from which they are proclaimed*). In every land, his unsullied justice has formed a paradise watered by the heavenly stream of his liberality. So just is he that the wolf passes the night in the torments of hunger, although the brown gazelle is before his eyes. No believer in the direction (*the true religion*) can be troubled by a doubt respecting the excellence of Abū Bakr (8). He is a sword of which the surface has been polished by glory, and of which the metal denotes the excellent temper (9). His praise is not borrowed (*metaphoric*), neither are the wonders (*verses*) of his prowess a forged narration. He is as far from former kings in merit as the Pleiades are above the earth. In his good qualities we find written all that books relate of Persian and Grecian kings. When the sagest minds are troubled with terror, the firmness of this king is only augmented. Strong of heart, his attacks and his intrepidity, in the tumult of battle, would appal the lions of as-Shara (10). (*His is*) the tongue which can almost declare what shall come to pass to-morrow, and that with a promptitude which dispenses him from reflecting ; (*his*) the prudence which surpasses and disconcerts the prudence of others ; his, the judgment and resolution which shame those of Alexander. His generosity leads him to pardon the gravest offences, and his noble pride turns him from ob-scene discourse. You need not listen when the history of other kings is read ; (*hear his*) in the belly of the wild ass is every sort of game (11).

It is certainly an exquisite poem, to say the least of it.—When al-Malik al-Aâdil had divided his states between his sons, he used to visit them, and kept thus removing from one kingdom to another. His general practice was, to spend the summer in Syria on account of the fruit, the snow and the cool water which are readily procured in that country, and he passed the winter in Egypt on account of its mild temperature in that season, and the absence of cold. He lived in all the enjoyments of life, and his appetite for food was most extraordinary; it is said that he used to eat up a roast lamb at a meal, and, in the gratification of his passion for the sex, his indulgences were extreme. In a word, he was permitted to partake of all the pleasures this world can afford. His birth took place at Damascus, in the month of Muharran, A. H. 540 (June-July, A. D. 1145), or 538, by another account. He died on the seventh of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 615 (August, A. D. 1218), at Aâlikin. The next day, his body was transported to Damascus and interred in the Castle, whence it was afterwards removed to the college bearing his name, and deposited in the mausoleum by the road-side. His tomb is the edifice which passengers remark through the trellis-work (*which surrounds it*). — *Adlikân* is the name of a village outside Damascus. The death of al-Malik al-Aâdil occurred at the epoch of the landing of the Franks (*the crusaders*) in Syria. Their first operation being to march against him, he set out to meet them and proceeded to the vicinity of Damascus, that he might equip his troops and make the other necessary preparations, but, on reaching Aâlikin, he expired. The whole body of the invaders then abandoned their project against Syria and passed into Egypt. This brought on the celebrated war of Damietta. The date of this war is given in the life of Yahya Ibn Mansûr, surnamed Ibn al-Jarrâh (12).—*Alsîs* is a Turkish compound word signifying *nameless*: it is related that, as none of al-Malik al-Kâmil's children lived to grow up, a Turk who was present at his levee said, on the birth of al-Malik al-Masûd: “People in our country have the custom of naming a child ‘*Alsîs* when none of his brothers has survived.’” Al-Kâmil then gave this name to his son. The people pronounce it *Alsîs*, with a *k* (ق), but the former is the right pronunciation; so, at least, I have been informed. I have since found the precise date of the cession of Aleppo: Imâd ad-din Zinki evacuated its castle on Thursday, the 22nd of Safar, and Salâh ad-din occupied it on Monday, the 26th of the same month.

(1) *Black dirhems* means silver pieces of base alloy; the *moneta nigra* of the middle ages. Gold pieces alloyed with silver are called *white dinars*.

(2) Here is the original text of this last passage: **وَصَرَّصَ الْبَازِي وَقُوَّةَ نَفْسِ الْعِمَادِ قُوَّةَ نَفْسِ الْبَغَاثِ**. It is so very obscure and ambiguous, that I may probably have missed its real meaning. If the translation be correct, the idea meant to be conveyed is equivalent to the following: the imprudence of so eminent a man as Imâd ad-dîn in employing such offensive terms towards us will encourage people of a much inferior rank to do the same.—It must be acknowledged that the whole passage is singularly difficult, though not more so than most of the other official papers drawn up by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil and Imâd ad-dîn; they strove to outdo each other in fine writing, and, for the sake of far-fetched allusions, expressed in well-turned rhythmical phrases, they plunged into the lowest depths of galimatia and absurdity.

(3) See vol. I. p. 542. In the fifth line of that page, correct the date 1182 and read 1183.

(4) See vol. II. page 334.

(5) His life is given by our author.

(6) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 604.

(7) In the life of Ibn Ammâr, page 131 of this volume, is a verse in which the same idea is expressed.

(8) This verse applies equally to al-Malik al-Aâdil, whose name was Abû Bakr, and to the first khalif.

(9) Literally: *et cujus indicat præstans origo substantiam*. We find frequent examples of such inversions. See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. p. 399.

(10) See vol. II. page 349, note (14).

(11) That is: the flesh of the wild ass has the taste of every sort of game. It is a common proverb. See Freytag's *Matdani*, tom. II. p. 316.

(12) His life will be found in this work. Damietta was taken in A. H. 616 (A. D. 1210).

## AL-MALIK AL-KAMIL, THE SON OF AL-AADIL.

Abû 'l-Maâli Muhammad, surnamed al-Malik al-Kâmil Nâsir ad-dîn (*the perfect prince, champion of the faith*), was the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil. We have already mentioned something of his history in the life of his father; see the preceding article. When the Franks (*the crusaders*) arrived at Damietta (4), al-Malik al-Kâmil had just assumed the supreme authority. Imâd ad-dîn Ahmad Ibn al-Mashtûb (*vol. I. p. 162*) and a great number of other grandees were then with him; but they joined the party of al-Malik al-Fâiz Sâbik ad-dîn Ibrahim, the brother of al-Malik al-Kâmil, in consequence of a plan concerted with the former of these princes. Though al-Kâmil had discovered from some circumstances of their conduct that they meant to depose him and confide the sultan-ship to his brother, and though their intention had been divulged, he felt obliged to keep on good terms with them on account of the presence of an enemy

in the country, and he acted towards them with great longanimity, it being then impossible to have recourse to expostulation and discussion. He continued to pursue this line of conduct till the arrival of his brother al-Malik al-Moazzam, the lord of Damascus (*v. II. p. 428*); and, in a secret conference with this prince, he disclosed matters to him and designated Ibn al-Mashtûb as the ringleader of the band. Some days afterwards, al-Moazzam proceeded, unexpectedly, to Ibn al-Mashtûb's tent and, having called him out, he expressed the desire of conversing with him in private. Ibn al-Mashtûb immediately mounted on horseback and rode off with him, unaccompanied. Al-Moazzam had previously selected some men on whom he could rely and given them directions to follow. He then entered into conversation with Ibn al-Mashtûb, and continued to keep his attention engaged, whilst he gradually drew him off from the camp. He then said: "Imâd 'ad-dîn! this country is yours, but we wish you to give it up to us." Having then furnished him with a sum for his necessary expenses, he told the detachment (*which had now come up*) to take charge of him and conduct him across the desert. Ibn al-Mashtûb, being alone and unable to resist, was obliged to submit. Al-Moazzam then returned to his brother and informed him of what had passed: having then recourse to another stratagem in order to send al-Fâiz out of the country, he despatched him off to Mosul for the purpose of bringing up reinforcements from that city and Mesopotamia. Al-Fâiz died on reaching the city of Sinjâr. These two individuals being thus removed out of the way, the generals who had conspired with them abandoned their projects and acknowledged, though much against their will, the authority of al-Malik al-Kâmil. The Damietta business then came on, but this is a subject on which we need not expatiate. On obtaining possession of Damietta, the Franks marched out with the intention of reaching Old and New Cairo, and they encamped at the extremity of the isle opposite to the main land on which Damietta is situated, the Moslems having already occupied the village of al-Manâ'ira, on the other side of the river. This river is the Ushmûm (*branch of the Nile*). Almighty God, by his favour and generous bounty, granted the victory to the Moslems, and, on the eve of Friday, the seventh of Rajab, A. H. 618 (August, A. D. 1221), the Franks abandoned their position. A peace being concluded between the two parties, on the 11th of the same month, the enemy evacuated the country in the month of Shaabân of that year. They had passed forty months and seventeen days in the land of

Islamism, part of the time in Syria, and the rest in Egypt, but God averted their evil designs; praise be unto him for so doing! For the particulars of this event, we refer the reader to our notice on Yahya Ibn Jarrâh. When al-Malik al-Kâmil was delivered from the uneasiness which the presence of the Franks had given him, he found leisure to think of the emirs who had endeavoured to subvert his authority; and, having expelled them from Egypt, he broke up and dispersed their party. He then entered Cairo, and, having taken steps for restoring the prosperity of the country, he proceeded to the recovery of the taxes from all the quarters in which they were due. Al-Malik al-Kâmil was a powerful monarch, and left an honourable reputation; he loved the doctors of the law, and, being a strict observer of the doctrines of the *sunna*, he adhered with zeal to the orthodox belief; he liked the society of talented men; in all his undertakings he evinced great foresight, never taking an unseasonable measure, and avoiding equally the extremes of parsimony and prodigality. Every Thursday, a number of the learned went to pass the evening with him, and he took a share in their discussions, questioning them on the obscure points of the different sciences, as if he was one of themselves. He frequently quoted the following verses which he much admired:

Before you were mistress of my heart, you never turned away from the sad and afflicted; and now that I am placed in a position which secures me (*from your charms*), you hope (*to reduce me again to bondage*).

He founded at Cairo a school for Traditions (*dâr hadîth*) and established a considerable *wakf* (2) for its support; he built also a large dome over the tomb of as-Shâfi, and, having interred his mother near that *imam's* grave, he went to an immense expense in leading to it the waters of the Nile by a canal of great length. When al-Malik an-Nâsir Salâh ad-din Dâwûd succeeded to the government of Syria on the death of his father al-Malik al-Moazzam, (*his uncle*), al-Malik al-Kâmil, who was brother to the deceased prince, set out from Egypt with the intention of taking Damascus. Being joined by his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf Muzaffar ad-din Mûsa, a prince whose life we shall give, they occupied Damascus towards the beginning of Shaahân, A. II. 626 (June-July, A. D. 1229), after some proceedings too long to be related. Al-Kâmil then gave Damascus up to his brother and received in return the cities of Harrân, Edessa, Sarûj, ar-Rakka,

and Ràs Ain, in Mesopotamia. On the ninth of Ramadàn, the same year, he set out to visit his new acquisitions, and, in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 626 (Aug.-Sept. A. D. 1229), as I was passing through Harrân, I found him established there with the Egyptian army. Jalâl al-dîn Khowârezm Shâh was at that time besieging Khalât, which city belonged to al-Malik al-Ashraf. Al-Kâmil then returned to Egypt, and in the year 629 (A. D. 1231-2) he set out at the head of a large army and took Aamid, Hisn Kaifa, and other cities in the same part (of Mesopotamia) from al-Malik al-Masûd Rukn ad-din Maudûd, the son of al-Malik as-Sâlih Abû 'l-Fath Mahmûd, the son of Nûr ad-din Muhammad, the son of Fakhr ad-din Kara Arslân, the son of Rukn ad-Dawlat Dâwûd, the son of Nûr ad-Dawlat Sokmân, the son of Ortok. We have already spoken of Ortok, the ancestor of this dynasty (*vol. I. page 171*). I learned from a native of Aamid, a well informed man, that Aamid was surrendered to al-Malik al-Kâmil on the 19th of Zû 'l-Hijja of that year (October, A. D. 1232). On the first day of Muharram, in the following year, al-Kâmil made his entry into Aamid.—Al-Malik al-Ashraf having died (*in A. H. 635, A. D. 1237*), and designated for successor his brother al-Malik as-Sâlih Ismâil, the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil, (the other brother,) al-Malik al-Kâmil took the field and occupied Damascus, after some encounters with as-Sâlih. He achieved this conquest on the 9th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 635 (December, A. D. 1237), and permitted his rival to retain possession of the town and district of Baalbek, Bosra, the Ard as-Sawâd (3), and other places in the same country. Having established his authority in as-Sharkiya (Mesopotamia), Aamid, and the neighbouring places, he left his son al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-din Abû 'l-Muzaffar Aiyûb to rule there as his lieutenant, and he appointed his youngest son, al-Malik al-Aâdil Saïf ad-din Abû Bakr, to govern Egypt in the same capacity.—We have already mentioned, in the life of al-Malik al-Aâdil, that that prince sent to Yemen al-Malik al-Masûd, the eldest son of al-Malik al-Kâmil. Al-Masûd then occupied Mekka and united under his sway the provinces of Yemen and Hijâz.—He left Egypt for his destination on Monday, the 17th of Ramadàn, A. H. 644 (January, A. D. 1245); he entered Mekka on the third of Zû 'l-Kaada, the same year, and the *khotba* was then said there in his name; having performed the pilgrimage, he set out for Zabid and took possession of that capital the first of Muharram, A. H. 642 (May, A. D. 1245). In the month of the latter Rabi, 620 (May, A. D. 1223), he



took Mekka from the *sharîf* Hasan Ibn Kitâda al-Hasani (4). Thus was extended the empire of al-Malik al-Kâmil. I was informed by a person who heard the *khotba* pronounced at Mekka, on Friday, that the orator, on coming to the prayer for al-Malik al-Kâmil, pronounced these words: "*May the divine blessing be on him who is* lord of Mekka and its pious inhabitants (5), of Yemen and "Zabid, of Egypt and Said, of Syria and its heroes, of Mesopotamia and its "sons, the sultan of the two *kiblas* (*Mekka and Jerusalem*), the lord of the two " *alâmas* (6), the servant of the two holy and noble cities (*Mekka and Medîna*), "Abû 'l-Maâli Muhammad al-Malik al-Kâmil Nâsir ad-din (*the perfect king, the "defender of the faith*), the friend of the Commander of the faithful!"—But these digressions lead us from our subject. In the year 633 (A.D. 1235-6), I saw him (*al-Malik al-Kâmil*) at Damascus on his return from the East, after having delivered the cities of that country from the hands of Alâ ad-din Kaikobâd Ibn Kaikhosrû Ibn Kilij Arlân Ibn Masûd Ibn Kilij Arslân Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Kutulmish Ibn Israyîl Ibn Saljûk Ibn Dukâk, the Seljukide, lord of Asia Minor (*Rûm*). The history of this important event would lead us, however, too far. Al-Kâmil had then in his train upwards of ten kings, one of whom was his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf. He continued in the height of power and authority till his death. Having fallen ill soon after he had taken possession of Damascus, he ceased riding out, and, during his indisposition, he frequently repeated the following lines :

Tell me, my dear friends! what may be the taste of sleep, for I am ill at ease (7).

His sickness continuing, he died on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 21st of Rajab, A.H. 635 (March, A.D. 1238), and his corpse was interred the following day, in the citadel of Damascus. I was in that city at the time, and was present at the cry raised in the great mosque of Damascus on the Saturday following; his death having been kept secret till then and not announced (*the day before*) Friday, at the hour of public prayer (8). When the hour of prayer drew near, a herald stood up on the throne (9) which is before the pulpit, and, having implored God's mercy on al-Malik al-Kâmil, invoked the divine favour on his son al-Malik al-Aâdil, lord of Egypt. I was there present, and the people uttered one general exclamation: they suspected that the king had died, but they did not acquire the certitude of the fact till then. His brother's son, al-Malik al-Jawâd

Muzaffar ad-din (*the generous prince, triumphant in his religion*) Yûnus Ibn Shams ad-dîn Maudûd Ibn al-Malik al-Aâdil, was then installed at Damascus as vice-gerent of the sultanship and lieutenant of al-Malik al-Aâdil Ibn al-Malik al-Kâmil, sovereign of Egypt. This nomination resulted from a unanimous decision taken by those emirs who happened to be present in Damascus. A *turba* (*mausoleum*) was erected for the reception of the corpse, and this edifice communicates, by a trellissed window, with the great mosque. Al-Malik al-Aâdil was born on the 25th of the first Rabi, A. II. 576 (August, A. D. 1180); so at least I have found it written in the handwriting of a person who had been engaged in historical researches. Al-Malik al-Masûd, the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil and sovereign of Yemen, died at Mekka, on the 13th of the first Junâda, A. II. 626 (April, A. D. 1229); he was born A. II. 597 (A. D. 1200-1). There was then at Mekka a Kurd from the town of Arbela, a man of great holiness and called the *shaikh* Sadik (or *Siddik*) Ibn Badr Ibn Djanâh (10), who was making a devotional residence in the neighbourhood of the temple. When al-Malik al-Masûd was on the point of death, he gave directions that none of his own money should be employed for the expenses of his funeral, and that his body should be delivered to the *shaikh* Sadik, to be buried by him as he thought proper. On Masûd's death, the *shaikh* shrouded the corpse in a cloak (*izâr*) which he himself had worn for many years in his repeated pilgrimages and visits to the Omra (11), and had it buried as well as he could afford, giving it a poor man's funeral. Masûd had also directed that no edifice should be raised over his grave and that he should be interred by the side of the cemetery near Mekka called al-Mâla (12), in a tomb bearing the following inscription: "This is the tomb of one who stands in need of the mercy of Almighty God, Yûsuf, the son of Muhammad, the son of Abû Bakr, the son of Aiyûb." A dome was afterwards erected over the grave by his freedman Sârim ad-dîn Kâimâz al-Masûdi, who was afterwards governor of Cairo (13). When al-Malik al-Kâmil was informed of what Sadik had done, he sent him a letter of thanks, and the *shaikh* said, on receiving it: "I do not deserve thanks for what I have done; a poor man asked me to take charge of him, and I merely fulfilled a duty incumbent on every individual when I lent him my services and buried the dead." It was then suggested to him, that he should write an answer to al-Malik al-Kâmil, but he replied: "I have nothing to ask of him." Al-Kâmil had told him to ask

for whatever he required, but the *shaikh* did not return an answer. All these circumstances were related to me by an eye-witness, who was a person of strict veracity (14); but God knows best! — Al-Malik al-Aâdil, the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil, continued to govern the empire till Friday, the 8th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 637 (June, A. D. 1240), when his own emirs arrested him outside of Bilbâis, and sent for his brother al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-din Aiyûb. Previously to this, as-Sâlih had made an arrangement with al-Malik al-Jawâd, by which he was to receive Damascus in exchange for Sinjâr and Aâna, and, in the beginning of the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 636 (January, A. D. 1239), he went and took possession of Damascus. Some time after, al-Malik as-Sâlih Imâd ad-din Ismail, uncle to al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-din Aiyûb and lord of Baalbek, concerted a plan with al-Malik al-Mujâhid Asad ad-din Shirkûh, the son of Nâsir ad-din Muhammad, the son of Asad ad-din Shirkûh (*vol. I. p. 627*), lord of Emessa, for the purpose of seizing Damascus, and al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-din Aiyûb having left that city for Egypt, with the intention of dethroning his brother al-Malik al-Aadil, these two princes burst into Damascus with their troops. This event, which caused a profound sensation, took place on Tuesday, the 27th of Safar, A. H. 637 (Sept. A. D. 1239), whilst Najm ad-din was stopping at Nâblûs. The soldiers of as-Sâlih Najm ad-din Aiyûb then returned home to their families in Damascus and left their chief at Nâblûs with a few of his pages and followers. Al-Malik an-Nâsir, the son of al-Malik al-Muazzam, and lord of al-Karak, arrived there soon after, and, having arrested as-Sâlih on the eve of Saturday, the 22nd of the first Rabi, the same year, he sent him into confinement at Karak. On the eve of Saturday, however, the 27th of Ramadân following, he set his prisoner at liberty. The details of these events would be too long to relate (15). As-Sâlih Najm ad-din and al-Malik an-Nâsir Dâwûd having then united their forces at Nâblûs, al-Malik al-Aâdil was arrested, as has been already said. His emirs sent off immediately for al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-din Aiyûb, and that prince, accompanied by al-Malik an-Nâsir, having joined them, they entered Cairo on the second hour of Sunday, the 27th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 637 (June, A. D. 1240). I was residing in Cairo at the time. His brother al-Malik al-Aâdil was placed in a litter and brought into the city under a strong guard. They took him to the citadel, where he remained a prisoner in the imperial palace. Al-Malik al-Sâlih

then extended the sway of justice over all his subjects; he treated the people with kindness, distributed alms, and repaired the mosques which had fallen into ruin. The history of his proceedings would form a long narration. On Monday, the 8th of the first Jumâda, A.H. 643 (October, A.D. 1245), he took Damascus from his uncle al-Malik as-Sâlih Ismail, but left him in possession of Baalbek. In the year 644, he returned to Syria and entered Damascus on the 19th of Zû 'l-Kaada (March, A. D. 1247). He then went back to Egypt, but, in the year 646, he set out thither again, and, having arrived at Damascus in the beginning of the month of Shaabân (November, A. D. 1248), he sent an army to besiege Emessa, which city had been taken from its sovereign, al-Malik al-Ashraf, by al-Malik an-Nâsir, lord of Aleppo. He returned to Egypt in the beginning of the year 647 (April-May, A.D. 1249), being unwell at the time, and he stopped at Ushmûm to await the coming of the Franks. This people arrived on Friday, the 20th of Safar, the same year (June, A. D. 1249), and, having occupied the land of Jiza (16) on Saturday, they took possession of Damietta and established themselves there, on Sunday, the third day. (*This conquest they easily effected,*) as the garrison and all the inhabitants had fled and abandoned it. Al-Malik as-Sâlih then left Ushmûm for al-Mansûra, and his illness was at its height when he arrived. He remained there till his death, which occurred on Monday, the 15th of Shaabân (November, A.D. 1249). His corpse was borne to the New Castle, in the Island (17), and deposited there in the mosque. During nearly three months, his death was kept secret, and the *khotba* continued to be said in his name till the arrival of his son al-Malik al-Muazzam Tûrân Shâh from Hisn Kaifa. This prince arrived at al-Mansûra by the road which passes through the desert. It was only then that they published as-Sâlih's death and that the *khotba* was said in the name of his son. A mausoleum was afterwards built close to the college which he had founded at Cairo, and his body was transported thither in the month of Rajab, A.H. 648. He was born on the 24th of the latter Jumâda, A.H. 603 (January, A.D. 1207); so I saw it written in the handwriting of his father, but I found stated elsewhere that his birth took place on the eve of Thursday, the fifth of the latter Jumâda, and a third account says: On the 4th of Muharram, A.H. 604.—Ward al-Muna (*gratification of wishes*), his mother, was a mulatto of a tawny complexion.—Al-Malik al-Aâdil was born in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 617 (Jan.-Feb. A.D.

1221), at al-Mansûra, where his father had stationed to observe the enemy in Damietta. He died in prison on Monday, the 12th of Shawwâl, A. H. 645 (Feb. A. D. 1248), in the Castle of Cairo, and was interred in the mausoleum of Shams ad-Dawlat, situated outside the Gate of Succour (*Bâb an-Nasr*).—I indicate these events in a summary manner; were I to enter into details, I should be led too far, particularly as my object is concision; I may add, however, that I was present when the greater part of them took place.—Al-Aâdil left a child, a little boy, called al-Malik al-Mughith; he remained in the Castle till his cousin al-Malik al-Muazzam Tûrân Shâh sent from al-Mansûra where he had just arrived, and removed him from the Castle to as-Shaubek. On the catastrophe (18) which befel al-Muazzam, the guardian of the fortress of al-Karak sent to as-Shaubek for al-Malik al-Mughith and remitted to him the possession of these two places and the neighbouring country. He is still reigning there (19). He continued in possession of that place till A. H. 664 (A. D. 1262-3), when al-Malik az-Zâhir Rukn ad-din Bibars, having halted in al-Ghaur (*the valley of the Jordan*), wrote to him to give up the fortress and promised to concede him great advantages as an equivalent. Having bound himself by oath (*to act honorably*), he induced al-Mughith to come to his camp at at-Tûr (*Tabor*), in the province of al-Ghaur. It is said that Bibars purposely expressed the oath in equivocal terms, as he had not the intention of fulfilling it. Immediately on al-Mughith's arrival, he arrested him and sent him a prisoner to the Castle of the Mountain at Old Cairo. From that moment, nothing more was heard of him (20). He left a son called al-Aziz Fakhr ad-din Othmân; this prince, who was then a mere boy, received an appointment as emir from al-Malik az-Zâhir and continued in his service till the conquest of Antioch, in Ramadân, A. H. 666 (May-June, A. D. 1268). He subsequently left Syria and proceeded to Egypt; but, on his arrival, az-Zâhir arrested him and sent him to the Castle of the Mountain, where he is still in confinement. Al-Malik al-Muazzam Tûrân Shâh died on Monday, the 27th of Muharram, 648 (May, A. D. 1250).

(1) For the events of this expedition, see Abû 'l-Fedâ, *Hamaker's Commentatio de expeditionibus adversus Dimyathum susceptis*, and M. Reinaud's *Extraits d'auteurs arabes relatifs aux croisades*.

(2) See vol. I. page 49.

(3) This *Sawâd* must not be confounded with the *Sawâd* of Irâk. According to the author of the *Mardsid*.

it is situated in the Balkā, the province to the south-east of the Jordan, and was called *Sawdā* (black) on account of the colour of its stones.

(4) Ibn Khaldūn gives a notice on the Kitada family in his universal history; MS. No. 2402 C, fol. 46 v.

(5) This passage is in rhyming prose, and it is for that reason, probably, that Ibn Khallikān gives it.

(6) See vol. II. page 341. Al-Malik al-Kāmil had probably two *aldmas*, one as sultan of Egypt and the other as sultan of Syria and the East.

(7) Abū 'l-Mahāsīn, who quotes this and other passages of Ibn Khallikān in his notice on al-Malik al-Kāmil, (*Nujūm*, year 618), reads the last words of this verse فاني نسيت (for I have forgotten it). This is probably the true reading.

(8) The reading which I adopt is لانهم اخفوا موته يوم الجمعة وقت الصلاة. Some of the MSS. offer other readings which are manifestly false.

(9) Instead of العرش (the throne) some of the MSS. have العريش (the tabernacle).

(10) The *shatkh* Sadik belonged to the tribe of the Ilumaidi Kurds. He died at Mekka, A. H. 639 (A. D. 1241-2) and was interred in the Mala — (See note (12)). Ar-Rāzi has inserted a short notice on Sadik in the Biographical History of Mekka. See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 721, fol. 30 verso.

(11) The Omra is a small chapel at the distance of an hour and a half or two hours from Mekka. Every pilgrim is required to visit it. — See d'Ohsson's *Tab. gén. de l'emp. oth.* tom. III. p. 238, and Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. pages 176 and 322.

(12) In the *Marsid al-Ittilā* and al-Azrakī's description of Mekka, this name is written المَعْلَا. See Burckhardt's description of it in his *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 226. It now forms a quarter of the city.

(13) Sārim ad-dīn Kāimāz al-Masūdī acted with great cruelty and tyranny when governor of Cairo. In the month of Zū 'l-Hijja, A. H. 664 (September, A. D. 1266), he was stabbed to the heart, in the court of justice, by a person who meant to assassinate the sultan's lieutenant, the emir Izz ad-dīn al-Mujallī. — (Al-Makrizī's *Khitat*, chapter entitled سَوْبَقَةُ الْمَسْعُودِي).

(14) Literally: Who knew (the truth of) what he said.

(15) See Abū 'l-Fedā's *Annals*, year 637.

(16) This Itza is the tongue of land which lies opposite-Damietta, between the eastern branch of the Nile and the sea.

(17) The author means the island of ar-Rauda, near Cairo. Al-Makrizi has a chapter on this island and its Castle, in the *Khitat*. He agrees with Ibn Khallikān in stating that the corpse of al-Malik as-Sālih was deposited there. The Castle of the island, called also Kalā tar-Rauda, Kalā tal-Mikyās (castle of the Nilometer), and al-Kalā tas-Sālihiya, was an immense fortified palace, embellished with colonades, plantations, and all the ornaments which art could bestow. It was founded by as-Sālih and destroyed by the mamlūk sultans.

(18) See Abū 'l-Fedā's *Annals*, year 648, tom. IV. pages 511 and 517.

(19) What follows is evidently a subsequent addition, and is not to be found in most of the MSS. It was known, however, to al-Yāfi, who gives an abridgment of it in his *Mirāt*, year 635.

(20) Abū 'l-Fedā gives a much more satisfactory account of al-Mughth's fall in his *Annals*, year 661.

## IBN AZ-ZAIYAT THE VIZIR.

Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Abi Hamza Abbân, generally known by the appellation of Ibn az-Zaiyât (*son of the oilman*), was vizir to al-Motasim. His grandfather, Abbân, was a native of ad-Daskara (1), a village in the district of Jobbûl, and carried oil from the environs of that place to Baghdad; but his own aspiring soul raised him, as we shall see, from the obscurity of a station so humble. His literary acquirements were of the most brilliant description, and his talents of the highest order; he was an able philologist, an eloquent writer, and a learned grammarian. Maimûn Ibn Harûn the *kâtib* relates that, when Abû Othmân al-Mâzini (*vol. I. p. 264*) arrived at Baghdad, in the reign of al-Motasim, his pupils and the persons who attended his lectures entered into the depths of grammatical disquisition, and, when any doubtful point set them at variance, Abû Othmân would tell them to send and consult the young *kâtib*, meaning the [Muhammad Ibn] Abd al-Malik here mentioned. This they did, and Abû Othmân, to whom they communicated his answers, always acknowledged their correctness and coincided in opinion with him who made them. Dîbil Ibn Ali 'l-Khuzâi (*vol. I. p. 507*) makes mention of Ibn az-Zaiyât in his classified list of the poets (*Tabakât as-Shu'arâ*), and he is spoken of also by Abû Abd Allah Hârûn Ibn al-Munajjim in his *Kitâb al-Barrî*. The latter writer, whose life will be found in this work, quotes also numerous fragments of poetry. In the beginning of his career, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik was one of the common *kâtibs* (or clerks) in the service of the state, and it happened that al-Motasim, having received a letter from one of his governors, ordered his vizir Ahmad Ibn Ammâr Ibn Shâdi (2) to read it aloud. In this letter the writer spoke of *al-kalâ* (*forage*), and al-Motasim asked Ibn Ammâr what the word *al-kalâ* meant. The vizir replied that he did not know; for he possessed, in fact, but a very slight acquaintance with philology. On this, al-Motasim exclaimed: "An illiterate khalif (*is well fitted*) with a low born vizir!" Al-Motasim himself possessed but little instruction in (*reading and*) writing. He then ordered the attendants to bring in the first *kâtib* they could find in the antechamber, and Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik was introduced. "What is the meaning of *al-*

"*kald?*" said the khalif. — "*Al-kald*," replied Ibn az-Zaiyât, "in its general acceptance, signifies *grass*; if it is fresh, it is called *al-khald*; and if dry, *al-hashîsh*." He then enumerated the different sorts of herbage, and al-Motasim having thus discovered his merit, raised him to the post of vizir, with full juridical and executive authority. We have already mentioned, in the life of the *kaddî* Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd al-Iyâdî (*vol. I. p. 69*), what passed between him and Ibn az-Zaiyât. Abû Abd Allah al-Bimâristâni relates that Abû Hafs al-Kirmâni, the *kdtib* (or *secretary*) of Amr Ibn Masada (*vol. II. p. 440*), wrote the following note to Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik: "To come to our subject: thou art one of those who water when they plant, and who edify the structure when they lay its foundations, so that the building raised on these foundations is completed, and the fruit produced by these plantations affords an ample crop. But the edifice which thou hast erected in my love is now tottering and on the brink of ruin; the plantation which thou hast formed in my heart suffers from drought and is on the point of being parched up; hasten therefore to repair the edifice which thou hast founded, and to water what thou hast planted." Al-Bimâristâni adds that, having spoken of this letter to Abû Abd ar-Rahmân al-Atawi, the latter immediately expressed the same thought in a verse which he designed as a eulogium on Muhammad, the son of Imrân, the son of Mûsa, the son of Yahya, the son of Khâlid, the son of Barmek; I must observe, however, that I have since found the (*first*) three verses in (*Ali Ibn Hamza*) al-Ispahâni's edition of Abû Nuwâs' poetical works (*vol. I. p. 392*):

The generous Barmékides learned beneficence and taught it to the human race; when they planted, they watered, and they never destroyed the edifice which they founded; when they conferred favours on mankind, they clothed their bounties in a raiment which endured for ever. You once gave me to drink from the cup of your love; why do you now present me the cup of your cruelty? You allayed my apprehensions by kindness; know you not that your estrangement will arouse them?

The same idea is also expressed in (*two verses which we have inserted in*) the life of Abd al-Muhsin as-Sûfî (*vol. II. p. 178*).—Ibn az-Zaiyât composed some graceful poems, such as the following:

Hearken to me, O men! and abstain from casting glances at the fair. Although love begins by exciting joy, it has death for its end. My friends said to me: "Cease to



"watch the Pleiades; sleep, for the wing of night is turned black." And I replied: "Has my heart then so far recovered, that it can distinguish between night and morning?"

I found in the handwriting of (a person who was evidently) a man of instruction, the following piece which is there given as Ibn az-Zaiyât's:

(She was) a tyrant as long as I knew her; an oppressor, yet may I never be delivered from her! She hopes for my love, yet she refuses when I ask. When my tears betrayed the passion I concealed, she said: "Though he should weep all his life, with tears of blood, I should not have compassion on him." How often did I control my angry feelings and suppress my indignation! how often was I weary of life, and yet I never felt weary of love.

The Khatîb (*vôl. I. p. 75*) relates, in his History of Baghdad, that Ibn az-Zaiyât loved a slave-girl who was a professional musician, and his mind was so greatly troubled on learning that she had been sold to a native of Khorâsân and taken away, that his friends feared for his reason. He then pronounced these lines:

How long the nights of the afflicted lover! how long his watching of the Pleiades in the darkness! What now remains for my garments to cover, in me who am consumed with passion, and whose body now appears as slender as the letter *atîf*? When Jacob exclaimed: "Alas!" (*ya asafa*) (3) in his affliction, he did so for the length of the sorrow (*al-asaf*) which he had undergone. Let him who wishes to see a man who died of love, turn towards az-Zaiyât and observe.

In (*Ibn al-Munajjim's Kitâb al-Bârit*) we find an elegy composed by Ibn az-Zaiyât on his slave-girl, who died leaving a son eight years old. He thus expresses his sorrow for her loss:

Who has seen the child deprived of his mother? sleep is far from him and his eyes pour forth their tears. He sees every mother, but his own, sleeping, under the shades of night, beside her child; but he lies in his solitary bed, holding converse with the sorrows of a heart in constant agitation. Suppose me able, in my strength of mind, to bear her loss with patience; yet who can give patience to a boy but eight years old? his force is weak; he knows not that patience is a merit (*in the eyes of God*), and he never can console me in my misery.

Ibn az-Zaiyât left a *diwân* of elegantly written letters. Al-Bohtori has celebrated his praises in the *kasîda* rhyming in *d*, wherein he extols his penmanship and eloquence. Towards the end of this poem he says:

I see all mankind, the commanders and the commanded, united in thy praise. The learned appreciate thy talents in the sciences, and, on their word, the ignorant acknowledge thy merit.

Abû Tammâm (*vol. I. p. 348*) and many other contemporary poets praised him in their verses. There exists a number of fragments by Ibrahim Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli (*vol. I. p. 22*) in which that writer attacks him; such, for instance, as the following:

• I had a brother near whom, when I reminded him (*of my distress*), I found the shelter of a chief, justly proud and lofty in his glory. But the vicissitudes of time passed between me and him, and they left us, one a tyrant and the other an implorer of assistance. In counting on Muhammad as a support through life, I resembled him who sought to extinguish the fire by blowing on it

Forced by the approach of affliction, I called on you to succour me; but in your hatred, you stirred up the fire of misfortune to consume me. In calling on you when danger threatens, I resemble the woman who begged assistance from the inhabitants of the tombs.

I said to her, when she multiplied reproaches: "Alas! what can I do? my honour-able feelings injure my success (?)." — "Where are then the noble princes?" said she. — "Ask me not," I replied, "they are dead." — "How did that happen?" — "Because the khalif has taken an oilman for his vizir."

Abû Jaafar, now in the height of power! fear a reverse of fortune, and rein in, for a time, thy pride in its career. If you possess to-day the object of thy hopes, think that, to-morrow, my hopes may be crowned like thine.

If, in visiting Muhammad, I sometimes met with a repulse, yet I have often avoided him of my own accord. Am I not placed under an obligation to a man like Muhammad when he spares me the necessity of being grateful for his favours.

Fortune hath procured thee wealth, and, once poor, thou art become rich. But wealth hath disclosed the vile qualities which lay concealed under the robe of thy poverty.

As-Sûli attacks him in other passages besides these, but illustrious men have always been the object of praise and vituperation. Ibn az-Zaiyât composed a satire of ninety verses against the *kâdi* Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd, to which the latter replied by the two following lines:

A satire of ninety verses is less to the purpose than its meaning condensed into a single verse: *How much the state requires a shower of rain to wash away that filthy stain of oil!*

The author of the *Ikd* (vol. I. p. 92) attributes these last verses to Ali Ibn al-Jahm (vol. II. p. 294), but the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* gives them as Ibn Abi Duwād's. When Ibn az-Zaiyāt heard of this epigram, he replied :

You defiled the state with your pitch, and nothing could clean it till we rubbed it with our oil (5).

To make this allusion intelligible, it is necessary to observe that Abū Dawūd's grandfather sold pitch at-Basra. On the death of al-Motasim and the accession of his son al-Wāthik Hārūn, Ibn az-Zaiyāt pronounced the following verses :

When they returned after depositing the best of the dead in the best of tombs, I said: "God can never repair the misfortune which the people suffer in thy loss but "by giving them Hārūn."

Al-Wāthik, in his father's lifetime, had conceived a violent hatred against Ibn az-Zaiyāt, but, when he heard these verses, he confirmed him in the possession of all the authority which he had exercised during the reign of al-Motasim. He had even sworn by a most solemn oath (6) that, on his accession, he would cast the vizir down from the height of his power; but, having ordered the *kdtibs*, after he had assumed the supreme command, to draw up a notice relative to the ceremonies to be observed at his inauguration, he was dissatisfied with the draughts which they submitted to his examination, and the only one which met his approval was that which Ibn az-Zaiyāt wrote out subsequently to their failure. This document he ordered to be adopted for the model of all the copies of the notice, and he proceeded to expiate the breach of his vow according to the legal formalities. "Money," said he, "can be replaced, "and so can the sum given to redeem a broken vow, but we can have no equivalent for the empire or for such a man as Ibn az-Zaiyāt." Al-Mutawakkil, the successor of al-Wāthik, bore a violent rancour towards the vizir, and, on the fortieth day after his accession, he gratified his animosity by putting him under arrest and confiscating his property. The motive which led him to this act of vengeance was that, on the death of his brother, al-Wāthik, Muhammad Ibn az-Zaiyāt had proposed to raise the deceased khalif's son to the throne, whilst the *kadi* Ibn Abi Duwād recommended that al-Mutawakkil should be chosen. To accomplish his purpose, the *kadi* displayed the utmost activity,

and he carried his zeal so far that he placed, with his own hands, the turban on al-Mutawakkil's head and the Prophet's mantle on his shoulders, after which, he kissed him on the forehead. Under the reign of al-Wāthik, whenever al-Mutawakkil went to see the vizir, the latter received him with a frowning look, and accosted him in the rudest terms; hoping, by this line of conduct, to ingratiate himself yet more with his sovereign. Al-Mutawakkil's hatred was excited by this treatment, and if, on his accession to power, he abstained for a time from venting his anger on Ibn az-Zaiyât, it was only to allay his apprehensions and prevent him from concealing his money. In order, therefore, to inspire him with a false security, he chose him for vizir, whilst he complacently listened to the suggestions of the *kaddi* Ibn Abi Duwâd, who pushed him on to vengeance. When he at length arrested Ibn az-Zaiyât and put him to death in the manner which we shall relate lower down, he could only discover, of all his vizir's possessions, farnus, and treasures, property to the value of one hundred thousand dinars. He then repented of what he had done, and finding no one capable of replacing him, he said to Ibn Abi Duwâd: "You inspired me with vain hopes, and incensed me against a man whom I shall never be able to replace." When Ibn az-Zaiyât was vizir, he caused a large lantern (7) to be framed of iron and fastened with nails, the sharp points of which projected inwards, like needles. In this machine he used to torture the officers of the civil administration and the other persons from he meant to extort money: as often as the victim turned round or moved from the intensity of his sufferings, the nails entered into his body and put him to excruciating pain. Ibn az-Zaiyât was the first who ever imagined such an instrument of torture. When the sufferer cried out to him: "O vizir! have compassion on me!" he used to answer: "Compassion is mere weakness of character." It happened however that, when he was himself imprisoned by al-Mutawakkil, that khalif ordered him to be chained in irons of thirty pounds weight and put into the same lantern. To his cry of: "O Commander of the faithful! have compassion on me!" he answered in the words so often addressed by the vizir to other sufferers: "Compassion is mere weakness of character (8)." Whilst undergoing these torments, Ibn az-Zaiyât asked for ink and paper, and wrote as follows:

Such is the way of earthly things; from day to day, they fleet on and pass away as visions seen in sleep. Cease repining! such events are the vicissitudes which fortune transmits from man to man.

These lines he sent to al-Mutawakkil, who was prevented by business from attending to them, but, the next morning, he read them and gave orders to deliver the vizir. When they came to take him out, they found him dead. This was in A. H. 233. He had passed forty days in the lantern. His arrest took place on the 8th of Safar, of that year (September, A. D. 847). After his death, the following lines were found written with charcoal on the side of the lantern, in his own hand :

Let him who knows where sleep is to be found, direct towards it one who longs for it; may God have mercy on the compassionate man who will lead sleep to my eyes! I wake, but he sleeps by whom I am despised.

Ahmad al-Ahwal (*vol. I. p. 20*) relates as follows : " When Ibn az-Zaiyât was " arrested, I contrived to gain admittance, and, finding him heavily ironed, I " said : ' I am deeply grieved at what I see; ' on which he pronounced these " words :

" Ask the dwellings of the tribe who changed their aspect and destroyed the traces " of their existence? 'Tis Fortune; when she favours most, her favours turn to afflictions. The world is like a fleeting shadow; let us praise God ! 'twas thus He predestined it to be."

When he was put into the lantern, his slave said to him : " Thou art come, " my lord, to this, and hast not left a single man to speak thy praise." To this he answered : " Of what use to the Barmekides was their beneficence?"—The slave replied : " It makes you think of them now." Ibn az-Zaiyât acknowledged the truth of his words.

(1) The village of ad-Daskara was situated in the province of Baghdad.

(2) " Ahmad Ibn Ammâr Ibn Shâdi, a native of al-Madhâr (المذار), a town near Basra, see al-Idrîsî's Geography, removed from that place to Basra, where he purchased large estates and augmented his fortune. He followed the profession of a miller. Having gone up to Baghdad, his wealth became yet more ample, and it is said that he gave away, every day, one hundred dinars (?) in alms. Having been described to al-Mutasim by al-Fadl Ibn Marwân (*vol. II. p. 476*) as a man of strict integrity, that khalif raised him to the vizirate when he deposed al-Fadl. Ibn Ammâr held this post for some time, but a letter having arrived to

" al-Motasim in which the writer spoke of the fertility of the country and mentioned that there was a great abundance of *kald*, the khalif asked his vizir what the word meant. Ibn Ammâr, being totally devoid of the literary information requisite for a vizir, did not know what to say, and al-Motasim then ordered one of his followers and favorites, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik az-Zaiyât, to be brought in. Having posed to him the same question, Ibn az-Zaiyât replied: 'Herbage just sprouting up is called *al-bakt*; when it grows a little longer, it is called *al-kald*, and, when it is dry, they give it the name of *al-hashish*.' On this, al-Motasim said to Ibn Ammâr: 'Take you the inspection of the government offices, and this man will read to me the letters which I receive.' He afterwards honorably dismissed Ibn Ammâr from the place of vizir, and conferred it on Ibn az-Zaiyât."—(*Ad-Dual al-Islâmiya*, MS. No. 893, fol. 218.)

(3) Koran, surat 12, verse 84.

(4) The poet's wife or mistress reproached him with not gaining money by celebrating the praises of the great, and he replied that his honorable feelings prevented him from extolling the unworthy.

(5) These verses have been already given, with some variation, in the life of Ibn Abi Duwâd; see vol. I. page 69.

(6) According to the author of the *ad-Dual al-Islâmiya*, he vowed to make a pilgrimage to Mekka, to manumit all his slaves, and bestow large sums in alms, in case he did not wreak vengeance on Ibn az-Zaiyât.

(7) The word is *tannâr*: it appears from M. de Sacy's life of al-Hâkim, *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*, page cccxv, that these lanterns were sometimes of enormous size.

(8) The author of the *ad-Dual al-Islâmiya* states positively that Ibn az-Zaiyât was tyrannical, overbearing, hard-hearted, and inhuman. He alludes also to the story of the lantern.

### IBN AL-AMID THE KATIB.

Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Abi Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Muhammad the *kâtib*, surnamed Ibn al-Amid (*the son of al-Amîd*), was vizir to Rukn ad-Dawlat Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Buwaih ad-Dailami, the father of Adûd ad-Dawlat (vol. I. p. 407 and vol. II. p. 481). The title of *al-Amîd* (*the column*) had been given to his father by the people of Khorasân, in attributing to this word an intensive signification, according to their custom (1). His father was a man of merit and displayed considerable abilities as an epistolary writer and a philologist. Ibn al-Amid succeeded Abû Ali 'l-Kummi as vizir, in the year 328 (A. D. 939-40). He possessed a moderate degree of information in astronomy and the philosophical sciences, but, in philology and epistolary composition he surpassed all his contemporaries, and was (therefore) called the second *Jâhiz* (vol. II. p. 405). (As a vizir) he exercised unbounded authority and great influence. Ibn Abbâd

(vol. I. p. 212) received the surname of *as-Sâhib* (the companion) from the fact of his being the constant companion and follower of Ibn al-Amîd. The abilities of Ibn al-Amîd as an epistolary writer were of the highest order, and ath-Thaâlibî (vol. II. p. 129) said, on this subject, in his *Yatîma*, that epistolary writing began with Abd al-Hamid (vol. II. p. 173) and finished with Ibn al-Amîd. The *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd having made a journey to Baghdad, was asked by Ibn al-Amîd, on his return, how he found that city: "Baghdad," replied the *Sâhib*, "holds the same place amongst other cities as your lordship (*al-ustâd*) amongst other men." It must be here observed that Ibn al-Amîd was addressed by the title of *al-ustâd*. This vizir was an able ruler and administered the empire with firmness and talent; the most celebrated poets repaired to his court from distant countries and recited poems of the highest beauty in his praise. Abû 't-Taiyîb al-Mutanabbi (vol. I. p. 102) went to see him at Arrajân and eulogized him in a number of *kastîdas*, one of them beginning thus:

Be patient or impatient under suffering, thy passion will still appear; thy tears may flow or not, 'twill still be seen that thou art weeping.

In this poem he manages the transition to his subject in the following manner:

To Arjân, my rapid steeds! such is my firm resolution, which leaves the spears (*of all opposers*) broken behind it. Had I acted as you (*my slothful steeds*) desired, your troop had never cloven the clouds of dust (*but staid at home in idleness*). Hasten to Abû 'l-Fadl! to him whose aspect relieves me from my vow! no ampler ocean is ever visited by man (2). The human race gave their opinion (*fatwa*) that his aspect (*would release me from the vow of visiting the ocean*), and God forbid that I should be restrained or should abstain (*from its fulfilment*)! I have formed a bracelet for the hand which first waves to announce Ibn al-Amîd, and for the first servant who (*at his sight*) cries (*with exultation*) *Allah Akbar* (*God is great*)!

The same poem contains the following passage:

Who will tell the Arabs of the desert that, on leaving them, I saw (*in one man*) Aristotle and Alexander? They sacrificed for my table their camels ten months pregnant, but he gave me hospitality who sacrifices bags of gold for his guest. I then heard a deep student in the books of Ptolemy, who ruled with sovereign power, and who enjoyed, with equal pleasure, the life of the desert and of the town; (*united in him*) I met all the men of talent (*of ancient days*); God seems to have restored us their persons and their times; they were first drawn up in order, like sums for calculation; then came the amount, because you (*O learned vizir!*) came the last (3).

This is one of the most exquisite *kasidas* ever composed. Ibn al-Hamadâni says, in his *Oyân as-Siâr* (4), that Ibn al-Amid rewarded the poet with three thousand dinars. In this piece, al-Mutanabbi gives but one *r* to *Arrojân*, although it should have two, according to al-Jauhârî (*vol. I. p. 22*) in his *Sahâh*, al-Hâzimi (*vol. III. p. 11*) in his *Ma ittafak lafẓu wa iftarak musammâhu* (or *synonyms*), and Ibn al-Jawâlîkî (5) in his *Mughrib*. We have already spoken of this *kasida* in the life of Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn al-Furât (*vol. I. p. 319*), and mentioned that it was composed in honour of this vizir when the author was in Egypt; al-Mutanabbi, however, being dissatisfied with his conduct, did not recite it to him, but, having gone to Fars, he changed it to the address of Ibn al-Amid. Abû Nasr Abd al-Aziz Ibn Nubâta as-Saadi (*vol. II. p. 138*) went to see Ibn al-Amid at Rai, and praised him in a poem commencing thus :

(*I suffer from*) the pains of desire and remembrance, from the ardour of burning sighs; deprived of sleep, tears gush from my eyes. Alas! how many anxious thoughts has my heart concealed! The intoxication of youth has passed away, but its hurtful effects still remain: I am too old to gain the love of youthful maidens, and yet I cannot behold them with indifference. How happy were the nights and mornings in which I visited the court of ar-Rusâfa (6), when my youth, inebriated with delight, swept the ground with its robe of pride: I then made my pilgrimage to the stone of as-Sarrât (7) and my residence (8) in its shady bowers: the abodes of pleasure were my abodes, and the dwelling of joy was mine.

In the same piece he says :

Life has no longer any charms for me unless I spend it in passing the wine-cup around, whilst I encourage the musicians to emulate the strains of the turtle-dove; and then, let Ibn al-Amid appear, the torrent of his beneficence shames the rain-cloud and arrests its copious showers (9). The character of that generous prince is formed of the purest molten gold; his gifts flow copious as the ocean-waves, and his renown diffuses around the perfumes of the gilliflower and the *ardr*: he scatters his gifts like the comfits scattered at a marriage feast; he keeps so closely the secrets of a friend that his bosom is like the night in which no moon appears.

In the same poem we remark also the following verses :

Lofty enterprises are achieved by lofty minds, and to Abû 'l-Fadl I sent on their nocturnal journey the inspirations of my heart.

The poet waited vainly in expectation of a recompense for this piece, and he at length followed it up by another poem and then by a letter which, though he arrived at court in a most destitute condition, only served to confirm



Ibn al-Amid in his indifference. He finally succeeded in entering into the vizir's presence on a day in which he held a levee for the reception of the grandees and the chiefs of the civil administration; posting himself then before him, he pointed at him and said: "O *rats!* I have followed thee as closely as thy shadow; I have abased myself before thee as humbly as thy shoe, and I have swallowed the burning food of absence (*from home*) in expectation of thy gift; yet, by Allah! I do not feel my disappointment, but I dread the sneers of foes; people who gave me good advice, yet I trusted them; who spoke me truly, yet I suspected their sincerity. With what a face can I now meet them, and what pretext can I now oppose to them? I have received for eulogium after eulogium, for prose after verse, nothing else but bitter regret and sickening misery. If success have a mark to make it known, where is that mark and what is it? Those whom thou enviest for the praises which they received were formed of the same clay as thyself; those whom satire covered with dishonour were like thee; forward then and surpass the highest of them in exaltation, the brightest of them in lustre, the noblest in station!" Astonished and confounded at this address, Ibn al-Amid remained silent with his eyes fixed on the ground; but at length, he raised up his head and replied: "Time is too short to permit thee to solicit favours in a lengthened discourse, or to allow me to offer a long apology; and were we to accord to each other what we are led to bestow, we should only be obliged to recommence the same acts which give us mutual satisfaction." On this, Ibn Nubâta said: "O *rats!* these (*verses*) are the utterance of a heart which hath long concealed its thoughts, and of a tongue which hath been long silent; and, moreover, the rich man who defers (*his generosity*) is a despicable character." These words roused the anger of Ibn al-Amid, and he exclaimed: "By Allah! I did not deserve this reproach from any of God's creatures; for even less than that I quarrelled with (*my father*) al-Amid, so that we were led to mutual ill will (10) and unceasing discussion. But thou art not one of those who have merited my favour and whose humours I may support, neither art thou one of my dependents for whom I may have indulgence; nay, a part of that with which thou hast dinned my ears would provoke the spleen of the sage and overcome the firmest patience. And besides, I did not invite thee hither by letter, I did not send for thee by a messenger,

“ I did not ask thee to praise me, I did not impose on thee the task of extolling me.” To this, Ibn Nubâta replied: “ ’Tis true, O *raîs*! thou didst not invite me hither by letter, thou didst not send for me by a messenger, thou didst not ask me to praise thee, and thou didst not impose on me the task of extolling thee; but, in as much as thou wert seated in the midst of thy court, surrounded with all thy splendour (*as if*) to say: ‘ Let no one give me any other title than supreme chief, let no creature dispute my sovereign orders, for I am the *kâtib* of Rukn ad-Dawlat, the head of the courtiers, the lord of the metropolis, the supporter of the welfare of the kingdom,’ that circumstance alone appeared to be for me a sufficient invitation, although thou didst not invite me verbally.” On hearing these words, Ibn al-Amîd sprang from his seat in a passion and hastened into the vestibule of the palace whence he gained his chamber: the assembly broke up in confusion, and Ibn an-Nubâta was heard to say as he was crossing the vestibule: “ By Allah! it were better to eat dust and walk on burning coals than to endure this; God’s curse upon literature since patrons despise it and those who cultivate it are its dupes!” The next morning, when Ibn al-Amîd’s anger had passed over and his self-possession had returned, he caused search to be made for the poet with the intention of offering him excuses and removing from his mind the disagreeable impressions left by what had passed; but none could discover whither he had gone (14). The whole occurrence was a constant subject of regret for Ibn al-Amîd, up to the time of his death.—I have since found this poem and the conversation at the vizir’s levee attributed to a different person from Ibn Nubâta, and on looking for the *kasîda* in that poet’s *divân*, I could not find it. At a later period, on perusing Abû Hâiyân at-Tauhîdî’s *Kitâb al-Wazîrain* (12), I found this poem attributed to Abû Muhammad Abd ar-Razâk Ibn al-Husain, a native of Baghdad, a philologer, a logician, and a poet, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Abî ’th-Thiyâb, and that the discourse at the levee was held by Ibn Mamûyah, a poet and a native of al-Karkh. —The *kâtib* Abû ’l-Faraj Ahmad Ibn Muhammad enjoyed great favour in the sight of his sovereign Rukn ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih and held a high rank in his esteem, but he did not receive from Ibn al-Amîd the respect to which he was entitled. At different times, he complained to him of his behaviour, but finding his remonstrances unsuccessful, he wrote to him these lines:

What avail your riches if they render you arrogant to the poor? How often, when you came in, have we stood up, and, when we went in, you stirred as if to rise, but did not finish (*the movement*). When I withdrew, you never said: "Let his horse be brought to the door;" as I said when you withdrew. If you possess science, what do you know which is not known by others. You are not mounted on the back of the empire, and we are not placed below thee, at its feet. We also held commandments like you and were deposed as you may be, but we were neither cringing nor proud. We are equal in all things. Persevere in a reasonable line of conduct, or else give up your place.

The *Sahib* Ibn Abbâd composed a great number of poems in praise of Ibn al-Amîd, and, being in Ispahân when the latter went there on a visit, he wrote to him the following lines:

They said: "Your (*long expected*) spring (13) has come."—"Good news!" I exclaimed, "if true; is it spring the brother of winter, or spring the brother of generosity?"—"Tis that spring," they replied, "whose gifts secure the indigent from poverty."—"Tis then," said I, the *raîs* Ibn al-Amîd?"—They answered: "Yes."

Ibn al-Amîd expressed his high admiration of the following verses:

She came to the curtain of the door which was closed between us, and at which the slave-girls stood listening to my poetry, whilst their hearts were moved with the inspiration of my *kasidas*. And whenever she heard a tender thought, she heaved a sigh sufficient to burst her necklaces.

Ibn al-Amîd left some poetry, but the only piece of his which pleased me and seemed worthy of insertion, is the following, taken from Ibn as-Sâbi's (14) *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ* (*book of vizirs*):

I remarked on my face a hair which still remained black, and my eyes took pleasure at the sight; and I said to the white hairs, when their aspect struck it with affright: "I conjure you to pity its loneliness. Seldom does a black female remain in a place when her husband's other wife is a white."

The emir Abû 'l-Fadl al-Mikâlî (15) gives the following verses as his in the *Kitâb al-Muntahil*:

Choose your friends among strangers, and take not your near relations into favour; relations are like scorpions or even more noxious.

Ibn al-Amîd died in the month of Safar, — some say, of Muharram, — A. H. 360 (December, A. D. 970), at Rai, but Abû 'l-Hasan Hilâl Ibn al-Muhassin

Ibn Ibrahim as-Sâbi states, in his *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ*, that he died A. H. 359. God knows best ! Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amid was visited alternately by attacks of gout and cholic ; when one of these disorders left him, it delivered him over to the other. Being asked which of the two was the more painful, he answered : "When the gout attacks me, I feel as if I had in my joints a ravenous beast, devouring me, mouthful by mouthful ; and when the cholic visits me, I would willingly change it for the gout." It is said that, seeing one day a labourer in a garden eating bread, with onions and milk, and making a hearty meal, he exclaimed : "I wish I was like that labourer, able to eat my fill of whatever I liked." I may here say, in the words of Ibrahim as-Sâbi, Hilâl's grandfather (*vol. I. p. 31*), in his *Kitâb at-Tôji* : "Such is the nature of prosperity ; it is seldom free from trouble." I read, in a collection of anecdotes, that some time after the death of Ibn al-Amid, the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd passed by his door, and remarking that the vestibule, which used to be crowded with people, was completely empty, he recited these lines :

Tell me, thou abode ! why art thou covered with sadness ? where is thy curtain ? where are thy guardians ? Where is he before whom adversity fled ? He is now earth enclosed in earth. Say without-fear or shame : "My master is dead, and sadness hath overwhelmed me."

I have since observed that al-Otbi, in his *Kitâb al-Yamani* (16), attributes these words to Abû 'l-Abbâs ad-Dabbi (17) ; "but," says he, "some state that they were composed by Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi, on passing by the door of the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd." This cannot, however, be true, for al-Khowârezmi died before the *Sâhib*, as we have observed in his life (*vol. III. p. 11*).—Similar to this is an anecdote related by Ali Ibn Sulaimân : "I saw," says he, "the ruins of a large palace at Rai, of which nothing remained but the door-way, and on that was written :

"Wonder at the vicissitudes of fortune, and be instructed ; this dwelling is a striking example of such changes : I once saw it filled with a crowd of princes, and lights shining in every part of it ; but solitude is now its only inhabitant : O how desolate the house when the master is gone !"

On the death of Ibn al-Amid, his son Zû 'l-Kifâyâtân (18) Abû 'l-Fath Ali replaced him in the vizirate by the choice of their sovereign Rukn ad-Dawlat.

Zû 'l-Kifâyatain was a prince of great authority, eminent for his abilities, talents, and beneficence : it was to him that al-Mutanabbi addressed the five lines rhyming in *d* which are to be found in that poet's *diwân*, and form part of the eulogium composed by him on Ibn al-Amid. It is not necessary, however, to insert them. Ath-Thaâlabi speaks of him in the *Yatima*, in the article on Ibn al-Amid, and he gives there the following note in which Zû 'l-Kifâyatain requests a friend to send him some wine without letting his father, Ibn al-Amid, perceive it : " May God prolong your lordship's existence ! I have hastened to pass this " night in enjoyment, as if to take advantage of the moment when the eye of " adversity slumbers ; I have seized on one of the opportunities which life " offers, to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if " you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some " wine, we shall be (*sad*) like the *daughters of the hearse* (19). Adieu." Ath-Thaâlabi gives also some pieces of verse composed by the author of this letter. Abû 'l-Fath continued to fill the office of vizir up to the death of Rukn ad-Dawlat (*v. l. p. 407*), and the accession of Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat, that prince's son. He was again chosen as vizir by the new monarch, but he held this post for a very short time. A profound jealousy subsisted between him and the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd, and it is said that the latter was the person who turned Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat's heart against him. That prince began by expressing his disapproval of Zû 'l-Kifâyatain's conduct and testifying the aversion which he had conceived for him, till at length, in the year 366, he cast him into prison. There still exist some pieces composed by Zû 'l-Kifâyatain during his confinement, and in these, he describes his miserable situation. Ath-Thaâlabi says that he lost all his wealth, and that they tortured him by cutting off his nose and plucking his beard. Another writer states that one of his hands was cut off also, and perceiving that his case was hopeless and escape impossible, even were he to surrender up all he possessed, he tore open the breast of his robe, and taking out of it a paper containing a list of all the wealth and hidden treasures which he and his father had collected, he cast it into the fire. When he saw it entirely consumed, he said to the man who had him in custody : " Execute thy orders, for, by Allah ! not a " single dirhem of our money shall fall into the hands of thy master." He was then put to the torture and kept in suffering till he died. His arrestation took place on Sunday, the 8th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 366 (December, A. D. 976).

He was born in 307 (A. D. 919-20). — At the time of the expedition, in the year 355 (A. D. 966), when the Khorasanides returned from Rai after the grave event which occurred there, and when God had delivered (*the country*) from their perversity (20), the *raïs* Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amid commenced the construction of an immense wall around the palace of his sovereign. This induced the army inspector to observe that such an undertaking reminded him of the common saying: *post crepitum ventris stringere podicem*; on which Ibn al-Amid replied: "And that also is useful to prevent another from escaping." This answer was considered excellent.—Ibn al-Amid was appointed to office A. H. 337 (A. D. 948-9). In allusion to (*the death of*) Abû 'l-Fath, one of his friends said :

Family of al-Amid and family of Barmek! what has befallen you? your friends are few, and your assistants intimidated. Fortune took you for its favourites, but it then thought fit (*to change its mind*); fortune is certainly deceitful and treacherous!

Abû 'l-Fath, the son of Ibn al-Amid had the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd for successor; see the life of the latter (*vol. I. p. 212*). He frequently repeated the following lines, some time before he lost his life :

Men entered the world before us, and they departed from it, leaving it to us; we so-journed therein as they did, but we shall leave it to our successors.

The following piece is attributed to Abû 'l-Fath, the son of Ibn al-Amid :

The delators who watched my conduct asked me how I loved her? and I answered: "With a passion neither inadequate nor excessive." But did I not mistrust them, I should have spoken the truth and said: "My passion for her surpasses all that lovers ever felt." How often have my brethren asked me why I was so sad? And I replied: "You see my malady, yet you ask me what is the matter!"

Abû Haiyân Ali Ibn Muhammad at-Tauidî, a native of Baghdad, composed a work entitled: *Mathdlib al-Wazîrîn* (*the opprobriousness of the two vizirs*) in which he inserted all the circumstances which could tend to the dishonour of Ibn al-Amid and the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd; he attacked them violently in this production, enumerating their faults, stripping them of all the renown which they had acquired by their talents and generosity, displaying the utmost prejudice against them and treating them with great injustice. This book is one of those which bring ill luck (21); no person ever had it in his possession without suffering a

reverse of fortune, as I myself have experienced, and as others, on whose words I can place reliance, have experienced also. This Abû Haiyân was a man of talent and an author: he composed some works of great repute, such as the *Kitâb al-Imtînâ wa 'l-Mawânasâ* (aversion and attachment), in two volumes; the *Kitâb al-Basîr wa 'd-Dakhdîr* (guiding marks and treasures); the *Kitâb as-Sadîk wa 's-Sadûka* (the friend and friendship), in one volume; the *Kitâb al-Makâisid* (mutual comparisons), in one volume; the *Mathalîb al-Wazîrain*, in one volume, etc. This writer was still alive in the year 400 (A. D. 1009-10), as we learn from his own words in the *Kitâb as-Sadîk wa 's-Sadûka*.—I have not found the word *Tauhidî* noticed by any of the authors who have composed treatises on patronymies, not even by as-Samânî; but it is said that Abû Haiyân's father sold *tauhid* at Baghdad, and that this *tauhid* is a species of date produced in Irâk. It is this signification which some commentators of al-Mutanabbi's poems assign to the following verse:

They draw from my mouth draughts which are sweeter than the profession of God's unity (*at-Tauhid*).

(1) It is well known that the regular diminutive form *fuail* (فُعَيْل) assumes, in some cases, an intensive signification; thus *omaid* (a little column, a pilaster) may bear the signification of a large column. This circumstance induced me to suppose that the name of this vizir should be pronounced *Omaid*, and M. de Sacy was so deeply impressed with the same opinion that, in translating the passage to which the present note refers, he wrote: "Il avait reçu ce surnom d'après l'usage où sont les habitants de Khorasan, d'employer les diminutifs comme un signe d'estime et de considération." (*Chrestomathie*, tom. II, p. 88.) He then adds: "Ceci prouve qu'on doit prononcer *Omaid* et non pas *Amid*." To this I reply that, in the Arabic text of this passage (which I have translated literally), the equivalent of the word *diminutifs* does not exist; and, to prove that the name should be pronounced *Amid*, not *Omaid*, I shall refer to the versified proverb: Epistolary writing commenced with Abd al-Hamid, and ended with Ibn al-Amid. I shall also refer to the *diwân* of al-Mutanabbi; in all the manuscripts, the poems addressed to this vizir are entitled *al-Amidiyat*, with the vowel points clearly marked, and in these pieces, the word العَمِيد is invariably pointed so as to be read *al-Amid*. M. de Sacy has therefore misunderstood the observation of Ibn Khallikân, but his error was almost inevitable, owing to the vagueness of our author's expression. I believe Ibn Khallikân meant to say that the people of Khorâsân give to the form *fail* (فُعَيْل) an intensive signification, and this we know is an irregularity. The commentators of the *Korân*, and all the grammarians who explain the words *Bism illah ir-rahmân ir-rahîm* (in the name of God, the merciful, the element!) attribute to *rahm*, in consequence of its form (*fail*), a much less comprehensive signification than to the word *rahmân*. It is therefore an established principle of Arabic grammar that the form *fail* expresses less than *failân* and some other forms. But it appears that in Khorâsân it was considered to express more and to be really the intensive form, and this is what our author intended to say.

(2) Humidity and generosity are synonymous in Arabic poetry. To call a generous patron *an ocean* is the highest praise a poet can bestow.

(3) In these verses he means to say that Ibn al-Amīd united in himself the talents of all the great men of former times, and that he, coming last, represented the sum total of which they were the *items*.

(4) The *Oyân as-Siār* appears, from the short account of it given by Hajji Khalifa, to be a collection of anecdotes or poems. He places al-Hamadāni's death in 321 (A.D. 1127).

(5) His life will be found in this work.

(6) The poet probably means the town of Rusafa. See vol. I. p. 299.

(7) As-Sarāt has been already noticed in vol. I. p. 318. I know not what the poet means by the *stones* of as-Sarāt, and which he visited as pilgrims do the black stone of the Kaaba.

(8) *Residence*; in the original *itimār* (to perform the visit to the Omra). See note (11), p. 233 of this vol.

(9) Literally: And then, when Ibn al-Amīd appears, the showers of the rain-cloud cease.

(10) The words *قرى عاتم* mean: a supper of hospitality for which the guest must wait long, before he gets it. Such a supper is a proof of the ill will of the host. In this phrase, the expression appears to be taken figuratively.

(11) Literally: But it was as if he had sunk into the hearing and the sight of the earth; that is: as if he had sunk into the earth. No reasonable explanation has ever been given of this expression.

(12) Ibn Khallikān speaks of this work at the end of the present article.

(13) *Spring*; in Arabic *ar-Rabl*. I suspect that the poet means to quibble on this word which is also employed as a proper name.

(14) The life of Hīlāl Ibn as-Sābi will be found in this work.

(15) Ath-Thaḡlibī gives, in his *Yatima*, MS. No. 1370, fol. 479, a great number of passages, in prose and verse, composed by the emir Abū 'l-Faḍl Obaid Allāh Ibn Ahmad al-Mikālī, the most distinguished of all the members of the Mikāl family. Two other persons of the same family were eulogised by Ibn Duraid (see page 38 of this volume).

(16) This passage occurs in the *Yamani*, MS. fonds Asselin, folio 52 verso.

(17) Abū 'l-Abbās Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim ad-Dabbī, a favorite of the *Sāhib* Ibn Abbād, acted as his lieutenant and succeeded him on his death.—(*Fatima*, No. 1370, fol. 307, where numerous passages of his prose writings and poetical compositions are given.)

(18) This surname signifies: *possessor of the double capacity*. The author of the *Yatima*, MS. No. 1370, fol. 270, gives numerous extracts from his writings.

(19) *The daughters of the hearse* (*Bandt Naash*) is the name given by the Arabs to the constellation of *Ursa Major*.

(20) " In the year 355, an army of more than ten thousand men marched from Khorāsān against the "Greeks"—(who had penetrated into Mesopotamia and Syria, where they laid siege to Antioch; see Abū 'l-Fedā's *Annals*)— "and reached Rai. On their arrival, Rukn ad-Dawlat furnished them with provisions in "abundance, but one day, those warriors mounted their horses, and proceeding to the dwellings of Rukn "ad-Dawlat's captains, they slew all the Dailamites whom they met and pillaged the palace of Abū 'l-Faḍl "Ibn al-Amīd, the vizir of Rukn ad-Dawlat. Ibn al-Amīd succeeded, however, in defeating them and putting them to flight. They retired by the Adarbaldjān road, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, and, having subsequently reached Mosul; they entered Syria and encountered the Greeks."—(Ad-Dahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām*, MS. No. 646, fol. 237.)

(21) Such is the meaning of the word *محدود*, in this case. It occurs also with a nearly similar signification in *Abū-Allatīf*; see M. de Sacy's translation of that work, p. 250.



## IBN MUKLA.

Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Mukla, the celebrated *kâtib*, commenced his career as administrator and revenue-collector in one of the districts of Fars. He successively occupied various situations till he was at length appointed vizir by al-Muktadir billah, who invested him with this office on the 16th of the first Rabi, A. H. 316 (May, A. D. 928). The same khalif arrested him on Wednesday, the 16th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 318 (June, A. D. 930), and, having wrung from him a large sum of money, he banished him into the province of Fars. The *imâm* al-Kahir billah (*al-Muktadir's successor*) sent a messenger to bring him back from that country, and having chosen him for vizir, he appointed him to act as his lieutenant. On the morning of the Day of Sacrifice, A. H. 320 (December, A. D. 932), Ibn Mukla returned from Fars, and being invested with the pelisse of office, he continued to hold the post of vizir till the month of Shaabân in the following year. At that time, he withdrew into concealment on receiving information that the khalif suspected him of having taken an active part in the revolt excited by Ali Ibn Balik (*vol. II. p. 377*). Ar-Râdi Billah, who succeeded to the khalifate on the 6th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 322 (April, A. D. 934), chose him for vizir, three days after his accession. Al-Muzaffar Ibn Yâkût, who had acquired the absolute direction of ar-Râdi's affairs, conceived a dislike for the vizir Abû Ali and concerted a plot with the pages of the chambers (1) for the purpose of seizing on him when he entered the palace; assuring them that such a proceeding would meet with no opposition from the khalif and that it would in all probability give him great pleasure. It happened therefore that, when the vizir entered the vestibule of the palace, Ibn Yâkût and the pages seized on him and sent him in to ar-Râdi whom they acquainted with the circumstance; enumerating, at the same time, a number of crimes which they attributed to their prisoner and which forced them to take so decided a measure. The khalif returned an answer in which he gave his approval to their conduct. This occurred on Monday, the 16th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 324 (April, A. D. 936). They then agreed that the vizirship should be confided to Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Isa Ibn Dâwûd Ibn al-Jarrâh (2), and

ar-Râdi, in consequence, invested him with that office and delivered over to him Abû Ali Ibn Mukla. Abd ar-Rahmân caused his prisoner to be scourged with whips, and having put him to the rack (3), and inflicted on him various other tortures, he extorted his signature to a promissory note of one million of dinars (4). Ibn Mukla subsequently obtained his liberty, and retired to his house, where he remained for some time unemployed. Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Râik having then revolted against the khalifate, and usurped the supreme authority, ar-Râdi sent to the insurgent chief and propitiated his favour by entrusting him with the government of the empire and creating him *amîr al-umard* (5). He granted him also the administration of the revenue (*kharâdj*) and of all the landed estates belonging to the khalifate, besides which, he caused the public prayer (*khotba*) to be said in his name from all the pulpits of the empire. Ibn Râik having thus attained the height of power and influence, exerted his authority uncontrolled, and seized on the possessions and landed property of Ibn Mukla and his son Abû 'l-Husain. Ibn Mukla then waited on Ibn Râik and his secretary, and requested, in the humblest manner, the restitution of his estates. Being unable to obtain any thing from them but vague promises, he decided on employing against Ibn Râik every possible means of intrigue, and wrote to the khalif advising his arrestation; engaging, at the same time, in case his advice was followed and that he himself was appointed vizir, to force from Ibn Râik the sum of three millions of dinars. The letter containing this communication was in the handwriting of Ali Ibn Hârûn al-Munajjim (*vol. II. p. 343*). Ar-Râdi appeared inclined to give his consent to this proposal, and having then encouraged Ibn Mukla in his expectations, he entered into a correspondence with him, and numerous letters passed between them. Ibn Mukla finally obtained from ar-Râdi the full assurance of his co-operation, and it was agreed on between them both that he should proceed secretly to the khalif's palace and remain there till their plan was put in execution. The last night of the month of Ramadân appeared to Ibn Mukla a propitious moment for quitting his house and riding to the palace, because the moon is then (*concealed*) under the rays of the sun, and such epochs are favorable for engaging in affairs requiring secrecy. On arriving at the palace, he was detained in a chamber and refused admittance to ar-Râdi. The next morning, the khalif sent a messenger to Ibn Râik, informing him of what had occurred, and stating that this was a stratagem devised by

himself for the purpose of getting Ibn Mukla into his power. Frequent communications, in writing, then passed between them both, and, on the 14th of Shawwâl, A. H. 326 (August, A. D. 938), ar-Râdi made known to the public the designs of Mukla, and, drawing him from confinement, he confronted him with Ibn Râik's chamberlain and some of the military chiefs. As Ibn Râik had expressed the wish that Ibn Mukla should be punished by the amputation of the hand with which he had written the horoscope (*just mentioned*), the declarations of the persons present at this confrontation were no sooner terminated, than the (*executioners*) cut off his right hand and took him back to prison. Ar-Râdi then repented of what had been done, and sent doctors to attend him and heal his wound. Such was the result of the imprecation which Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Shanbûd, the koran-reader, pronounced against Ibn Mukla, as we have already related (*p. 17 of this vol.*), and it was certainly an extraordinary coincidence. Abû 'l-Hasan Thâbit Ibn Sinân Ibn Thâbit Ibn Kurra (*v. I. p. 289*), one of the physicians who attended him, relates as follows: "I went to see him when he was in that state, and he asked me news of his son Abû 'l-Husain; I informed him that he was concealed in a place of safety, and these words gave him great comfort. He then began to lament and weep for the loss of his hand: 'With that hand,' said he, 'I laboured in the service of the khalifs and twice transcribed the Koran: yet they cut it off as if it had been the hand of a thief!' I endeavoured to console him, saying that it would be the last of his afflictions and that no other mutilation would befall him. To this he replied by the following verse:

"When a part of thee perisheth, weep for the loss of another part; for one part is near unto another."

He at length recovered, and sent from his prison a message to ar-Râdi, promising him a large sum and requesting to be appointed vizir; he added that the amputation of his hand could be no obstacle to his nomination. He had contrived, in fact, to write with a pen by fastening it to the stump of his arm. When Begkem at-Turki (*vol. I. p. 431*), who was one of Ibn Râik's partisans (6), approached Bagdad, Ibn Râik ordered the prisoner's tongue to be cut out. After a protracted confinement, Ibn Mukla was attacked by diarrhea, and having no person to attend him, he was forced to draw water from the well

for his own use; this he effected by seizing the rope successively with his left hand and his teeth. He composed some poems in which he described his miserable fate and deplored the loss of his hand; in these pieces, one of which we here give, he complained of the ingratitude which he had experienced in return for his fidelity:

(*To act thus*) I was not weary of existence, but I trusted to their good faith and lost my right hand. To obtain worldly rank, I sold to them my spiritual welfare, and they deprived me of one and of the other. I used all my efforts to preserve their lives, but mine they did not preserve. After the loss of my right hand, there is no pleasure in life; my right hand is gone! depart thou also, O my soul!

The following lines are attributed to him:

I cringe not when pinched by misfortune, neither am I haughty when it spares me. I am fire when blown upon by the deep-drawn sighs of envy; I am running water with my friends.

It was from this passage that *Sibt Ibn at-Taâwizi* (vol. III. p. 164) borrowed the thought which he has thus expressed in one of his *kastâs*:

Seek not to gain my love by (*affected*) scorn; I am stubborn when roughly used. Kindness finds me like limpid water; severity, like the hardest rock.

It was of this vizir that a poet said:

They say that dismissal from office is the infirmity (*menstra*) to which noble characters are subject; may God curse it for a hateful thing! but the vizir Abû Ali is one of those  
\* *who expect no longer such an infirmity* (7).

According to *ath-Thaâlibi* (vol. II. page 129), in his *Yatîma*, the following verses were composed by Ibn Mukla:

When I see a man in an exalted station mounted on the pinnacle of thoughtless pride, I say within myself: "Favours must be appreciated at their just value; what a service he has rendered me in taking that place (*of danger*)!"

Ibn Mukla continued in this miserable state till his death, which took place on Sunday, the 10th of Shawwâl, A.H. 328 (July, A.D. 940). His corpse was buried in the prison where he died, but, after some time, it was disinterred and delivered up to his family. He was born in Baghdad, on the afternoon of Thurs-

day, the 20th of Shawwâl, A. H. 272 (March, A. D. 886). We have already mentioned in the life of Ibn al-Bawwâb (*vol. II. p. 282*), that it was he who derived the present system (*of writing*) from the written characters used by the people of Kûfa and that he gave it its actual form: I mean to say, either he or his brother, because there exists a difference of opinion on this subject. I have observed also that Ibn al-Bawwâb followed the path marked out by Ibn Mukla and ameliorated his system.—Ibn Mukla uttered some sayings which are still preserved and employed: such, for instance, are the following: “When I love, I risk death; and when I hate, I inflict it.” “When pleased, I favour; when displeased, I punish.”—“I like him who cultivates poetry for self-instruction, not for lucre, and him who practises music for pleasure, not for gain.” He has expressed a great number of fine ideas both in prose and verse. The poet Ibn ar-Rûmî (*vol. II. page 297*) eulogised Ibn Mukla, and one of the ideas which he expressed respecting him is the following:

If the pen be master of the sword (*the sword*) before which the necks are humbled and to whose edge the nations are obedient; (*recollect*) that death also, death which nought can resist, follows (*from*) words traced by the pen (*of fate*). 'Tis thus that God hath decreed, from the time in which pens were first made; (*he decreed*) that swords, from the moment they received their edge, should be servants to the pen.

Abû Abd Allah al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Mukla, the vizir's brother, was an accomplished and eminent *kâtib*. It was really he who invented that handsome written character. His birth took place on Wednesday, at daybreak, the 30th of Ramadân, A. H. 278 (January, A. D. 892), and his death, in the month of the latter Rabi', A. H. 338 (October, A. D. 949).—As for Ibn Raïk, the *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p. 252*) states, in his History of Damascus, that he arrived there in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 327 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 939), and that the *imâm* al-Muttaki appointed him governor of that city in the place of Badr Ibn Abd Allah al-Ikshidi, whom he dismissed from office. Ibn Raïk then set out for Egypt and had an encounter with Muhammad Ibn Togljî (*vol. III. p. 221*), the sovereign of that country. Being defeated in this engagement, he returned to Damascus, whence he proceeded to Baghdaḍ. He lost his life at Mosul, A. H. 330 (A. D. 941-2). It is said that he fell by the hand of Nâsir ad-Dawlat al-Hasan Ibn Ilandân (*vol. I. p. 404*).

(1) *The pages of the chambers* (*al-Ghilmân al-Hujariya*) formed a numerous body of youths who received their education at the court of the Abbaside khalifs and were afterwards employed in their service; see vol. II. p. 361. Under the Fatimides in Egypt, a similar institution existed, the members of which were designated under the title of *the youths of the chambers* (*Subyân al-Hujar*); see vol. II. of this work, page 352; and, under the mamlûk sultans, we perceive the existence of a seminary nearly identical, the *as-Subyân al-Hujariya*; see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 156. An establishment of the same kind is that of the *Itch Oghlâns* at Constantinople.

(2) Speaking of this vizir, the author of the *ad-Dual al-Islâmiya* says: "When ar-Râdi arrested Ibn Mokla, he sent for Ali Ibn Isa Ibn al-Jarrâh and offered him the vizirship. Ali refused accepting, and recommended his brother Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Isa to be chosen. The khalif followed his advice, but, in a short time, affairs got embroiled and the new vizir offered his dismissal. This led to his arrestation. During his administration he did nothing worthy of remembrance."

(3) The Arabic word *taatlâ*, here rendered by *rack*, means *suspension*.

(4) Between four and five hundred thousand pounds at the lowest computation.

(5) *Amîr al-umard* (emir over the emirs, or commander in chief); this post, the highest in the khalifate, was created for Ibn Râik.

(6) Ibn Khallikân, or his copyist, has committed a gross blunder here; he should have said: *who was one of Ibn Mukla's partisans*. Our author must certainly have meant to write: *وكان من المنتمين الى ابن* *وكان من المنتمين الى ابن رايق امر بقطع لسانه* and not *مقلة امر ابن رايق بقطع لسانه*.

(7) *Koran*, surât 63, verse 4.—The poet means to say that the vizir need never apprehend being deprived of his place; a very unfortunate prediction, as we have just seen.

### IBN BAKIYA THE VIZIR.

Abû 't-Tâhir Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bakiya Ibn Ali, surnamed Nasir ad-Dawlat (*assister of the empire*) and vizir to Izz ad-Dawlat Bakhtiyâr (v. I. p. 250), the son of Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, was an eminent *râis* (1), a powerful vizir and a generous patron. We have already spoken of him in our notice on Izz ad-Dawlat and mentioned that the allowance of wax lights which this prince furnished to him was two thousand pounds weight every month; now, wax lights being an object of little necessity, it may be conceived from this single circumstance how great must have been the quantity of things more essential and more requisite with which (*the vizir*) was provided. Ibn Bakiya was a native of Awâna (2), a place (*in the province*) of Baghdad. In the commencement of his career, he rose to be head-cook to Moizz ad-Dawlat, and then passed successively through other posts connected with the service of that

sovereign. On the death of his master and the accession of Izz ad-Dawlat, his situation became still more prosperous, having merited the favour of the new monarch by the zeal which he had displayed in the service of his father. Possessing a pleasing address and a generous disposition, he advanced to more elevated situations, and, on Monday, the 7th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 362 (September, A. D. 973), he received from Izz ad-Dawlat his appointment to the place of vizir. At a later period, Izz ad-Dawlat was led to arrest him for reasons too long to be fully related: we may, however, state, in a summary manner, that Ibn Bakiya pushed him to wage war against his cousin Adud ad-Dawlat (*vol. II. p. 484*), and, in the battle which ensued at al-Ahwâz, the troops of Izz ad-Dawlat were defeated. The prince attributed this disaster to the counsels of his vizir. In allusion to this circumstance, Abû Ghassân, a physician of Basra, said:

He remained fifty days at al-Ahwâz, directing the empire to its ruin. He embarked in an affair which began by blindness, proceeded through misfortune, and ended in destruction.

His arrest took place on Monday, the 16th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 366 (August, A. D. 977), at Wâsit. Being then deprived of his sight by the application of a red-hot plate of metal (3), he confined himself thenceforward to his house. When in the exercise of the vizirship, he grievously offended Adud ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih by some sarcasms which came to that prince's ears; and particularly, in designating him by the name of Abû Bakr al-Ghudadi. This Abû Bakr was a man with blue eyes and a face mottled with red, who sold cat's meat (*ghudad*) at Baghdad and who resembled Adud ad-Dawlat very much. The vizir applied this nickname to him with the intention of gaining increased favour with his own sovereign, Izz ad-Dawlat, who bore a deep enmity to Adud ad-Dawlat, his cousin. When Adud ad-Dawlat took possession of Baghdad, on the death of Izz ad-Dawlat, he sent for Ibn Bakiya and caused him to be trampled to death by elephants, after which he gave orders that the body should be fastened on a cross and exposed to public view before the Adudian hospital (*vol. II. p. 484*) in that city. This happened on-Friday, the 6th of Shawwâl, A. H. 367 (May, A. D. 978). Ibn al-Hamadâni says, in his *Oyûn as-Siâr*: "When Izz ad-Dawlat Bakhtiyâr conferred the place of vizir on Ibn Bakiya, who had formerly been chief of the kitchen, the people said: *min al-ghiddra ila'l-wizâra* (*from the dish*

"to the vizirship), but all his defects were thrown into the shade by his generosity. In the space of twenty days, he distributed twenty thousand robes of honour."—"I saw him one night at a drinking party," says Abû Ishak as-Sâbi (*vol. I. p. 34*), "and every time he put on a new pelisse, he bestowed it on one or other of the persons present, so that he gave away, in that sitting, upwards of two hundred pelisses. A female musician then said to him: 'Lord of vizirs! there must be wasps in these robes to prevent you from keeping them on your body!' He laughed at this conceit, and ordered her a present of a casket of jewels." Ibn Bakiya was the first vizir who ever bore two titles, the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mutî lillah having given him that of an-Nâsih (*the sound adviser*), and his son at-Tâi that of Nasir ad-Dawlat. During the war which was carried on between the two cousins, Izz ad-Dawlat and Adud ad-Dawlat, the former seized on Ibn Bakiya and, having deprived him of sight, delivered him over to Adud ad-Dawlat. That prince caused him to be paraded about with a cloak (*burnus*) over his head, and then ordered him to be cast to the elephants. Those animals killed him, and his body was exposed on a cross at the gate called Bâh at-Tâk, near his own house. He had passed his fiftieth year. On his crucifixion, an *all* (4) of Baghdad, called Abû 'l-Hasan Muḥammad Ibn Omar Ibn Yakûb al-Anbârî, deplored his fate in the following lines:

Exalted during life and after death, thou art, in truth, a prodigy! the crowd standing around thee seems like those bands of visitors who courted thy liberality in the days of thy donations. Erect as thou art among them, thou appearest like a preacher, and they stand all erect, as if to pray. Thy arms are openly extended towards them, as thou wert wont to extend them when bestowing thy gifts. The bosom of the earth being too narrow, after thy death, to contain such glory as thine, they gave thee the sky for a tomb and the robe of the air for a winding sheet. Thy importance was so deeply impressed on people's minds that thou passest even now thy nights closely watched by faithful guards. By night, torches are lighted around thee, and such also was the case in the days of thy life. Thou art mounted on the steed which Zaid once rode in former years (5). Such an advantage all rejoice in, and far from thy fortune are the efforts of thy foes to change it: I never saw a tree, before this, enabled to embrace all that was generous. Thou wert hurtful to adversity (*in warding off its strokes from others*); it therefore sprang upon thee and thou hast fallen a victim to its wrath. 'Twas thy custom to heal the wounds inflicted by misfortune; it therefore turned against thee to take vengeance; and time converted thy beneficence towards us into a crime. Thou wert an emblem of happiness for mankind, but, on thy departure, they were scattered by calamities. For thee my heart burneth with a hidden thirst which can only be assuaged by flowing tears. Were I able to perform my duty towards thee and acknowledge all my deep obligations, I should fill the earth with poems in thy praise and recite my lamen-



tations alternately with the cries of the female mourners : but I am forced to withhold myself from thee, lest I should be counted for a criminal. Thou hast not a tomb on which I need implore the blessed rains to fall; for thou art set up as a target to the impetuous gushing of the showers. On thee be the salutation of the All-Merciful ! may his blessings never cease to descend upon thee, morning and evening !

The body of Ibn Bakiya remained on the cross till the death of Adud ad-Dawlat; it was then taken down and buried at the spot where it had been exposed. The following verses were recited on his death by Abû 'l-Hasan al-Anbâri, the author of the piece just given :

They inflicted on thee no dishonour when they fixed thee on a cross; they only committed a crime of which they afterwards repented. They then felt that they had acted wrong, and exposed to public view (*one who was*) a beacon of authority. They took thee down, and in interring thee, they buried a mountain (*of noble qualities*); and with that mountain they entombed noble worth and generosity. Though thou hast disappeared, thy liberality remains unforgotten; yet how many the dead who are thought of no longer ! Mankind share the (*duty of*) repeating thy praises, as thou used, unceasingly, to share thy wealth amongst them.

The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p. 252*) says, in his History of Damascus, that Abû 'l-Hasan, on composing the first of these elegies, copied it out and threw it into one of the streets of Baghdad. It fell into the hands of the literati, who passed it one to another, till Adud ad-Dawlat was at length informed of its existence. He caused it to be recited in his presence, and (*struck with admiration at its beauty*) he exclaimed : " O that I were the person crucified ; not he ! " let that man be brought to me." During a whole year strict search was made for the author, and the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p. 242*), who was then at Rai, being informed of the circumstance, wrote out a letter of protection in favour of the poet. When Abû 'l-Hasan heard of this, he went to the court of the *Sâhib* and was asked by him if it was he who had composed these verses ? He replied in the affirmative, on which the *Sâhib* expressed the desire to hear them from his own mouth. When Abû 'l-Hasan came to the verse : *I never saw a tree, before this, enabled to embrace all that was generous*, the *Sâhib* rose up and embraced him, kissing him on the lips ; he then sent him to Adud ad-Dawlat. On appearing before Adud ad-Dawlat, that prince said to him : " What motive could have induced thee to compose an elegy on the death of my enemy ? " Abû 'l-Hasan replied : " Former obligations and favours granted long since

my heart therefore overflowed with sorrow, and lamented his fate." There were wax lights burning, at the time, before the prince, and this led him to say to the poet: "Canst thou recollect any verses on wax lights?" and to this the other answered by reciting the following lines:

"The wax lights, showing their ends tipped with fire, seem like the fingers of thy trembling feet, humbly stretched forth to implore thy mercy (6).

On hearing these verses, Adud ad-Dawlat clothed him in a pelisse of honour and bestowed on him a horse and a bag of money.—So far Ibn Asâkir—I may here observe that the person to whom allusion is made in the verse: *Thou art mounted on the steed which Zaid once rode in former years*, was Abû 'l-Hasan Zaid the son of Ali Zain al-Aâbidin (vol. II. p. 209) Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; he came forward in A. H. 122 (A. D. 740), and summoned the people to espouse his cause. This occurred in the reign of Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, and Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakifi, governor of the two Iraks, despatched al-Abbâs al-Murri with an army against the insurgent chief. Zaid was struck by an arrow shot by one of Murri's soldiers, and he died of his wound. His body was fastened to a cross and set up in the Kunâsa (7) of Kûfa, but his head was carried to the different cities of the empire and there exposed. Ibn Kânî (vol. I. p. 374) says: "This took place at Kûfa, in the month of Safar, A. H. 124 (Jan.-Feb. A. D. 739)"—some say, in Safar, A. H. 122.—Zaid was then forty-two years of age. (Hishâm) Ibn al-Kalbi mentions, in his *Jam'at al-Nisab*, that Zaid Ibn Ali was struck by an arrow in the forehead, towards the close of the day, and that his partisans carried him off. They then went for a surgeon, but, when the arrow was extracted, the patient breathed his last. Abû Omar al-Kindî (v. I. p. 389) states, in his *Kutub Umara Misr* (history of the emirs of Egypt), that, on Sunday, the 10th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 122 (May, A. D. 740), Abbân Ibn Abi 'l-Abyad al-Anasi (8) arrived at Old Cairo, in the quality of *khatib* (preacher), bringing with him the head of Zaid Ibn Ali, and the people assembled at the mosque to hear him. It is this Zaid to whom the mausoleum is dedicated which is situated between Old Cairo and Birka Bâra, near the Mosque of Ibn Tûlûn. It is said, I know not with what certainty, that his head is interred there. Yahya, the son of Zaid, lost his life in the year 126 (A. D. 743); his history is well known (9). He was slain at Jûz-

jān (in the neighbourhood of Balkh), by Salm Ibn Ahwar al-Māzini. Some say that he fell by the hand of Jahm Ibn Safwān, the commander of the troops employed to guard the frontier (10).—All learned men agree that the like of this *kasida* was never composed.—Abū Tammām (vol. I. p. 348) has inserted in the poem which he composed in honour of al-Motasim, a passage relating to persons crucified. This piece was written by him on the crucifixion of Ifshin (11) Khāidar Ibn Kāūs, that khalif's general in chief, and on that of Bābek (12) and Māzyār (13), in the year 226 (A. D. 840-1). Their history is well known. We here give the passage from Abū Tammām's *kasida* :

The fever of my heart was cooled when Bābek became the neighbour of Māzyār: he now makes the second with him under the vault of heaven, but he was not like the second of two, when they were both in the cave (14). They seem to have stood aside that they might conceal some secret news from the curious inquirer. Their clothing is black, and the hands of the *samīm* (15) might be supposed to have woven for them a vest of pitch. Morning and evening they ride on slender steeds, which were brought out for them from the stables of the carpenters. They stir not from their place, and yet the spectator might suppose them to be always on a journey.

Alluding to Ifshin, in particular, he says :

They gaze at him on the top of his tree, as if they were watching for the new moon on the night which ends the fast (of *Ramaddān*).

This *kasida* is remarkable for its high-sounding style.—*Ifshin*, for so this word must be pronounced, was the surname given to Khaidar (خيدار) Ibn Kāūs. I have here fixed the orthography of *Khaidar*, because it is often read as if it were *Haidar*.—The Abū 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Anbārī above mentioned composed the following lines on new beans :

Studs of emeralds in cases of pearl, and enclosed in pods shaped like nail parings: spring has arrayed them in a garment of two colours, white and green.

The *Khatib* (vol. I. p. 75) speaks of Ibn al-Anbārī, in his History of Baghdad, and observes that he composed but little poetry.

(1) The word *rdīs* (*rdīf*) is usually employed by our author to designate a person holding a high rank in the civil administration.

(2) "Awāna is a village on the Tigris, surrounded by trees and gardens. It lies at ten parasangs above Baghdad, and is situated opposite to Akbara, from which it is separated by the river."—(*Mardsid*.)

(3) Such is the meaning of the word سبيل.

(4) The *adl* is a sort of public notary; see vol. I. page 53.

(5) In page 281, Ibn Khallikān informs us who this Zaid was.

(6) This simile is by no means obvious.

(7) The author of the *Mardsid* mentions Kunāsa as a well known place in Kūfa. It perhaps received this name because the sweepings and rubbish of the city were deposited there.

(8) Abū 'l-Abyād al-Anasi was one of the *Tābis*, and particularly renowned for the number of military expeditions in which he bore a share. He died A. H. 87 (A. D. 706).—(*Nujūm*).—I can discover no information respecting his son Abbān.

(9) For a full history of Zaid and his son Yahyā see the *Qyān al-Tawārikh*, MS. No. 638, fol. 176, vol. III. and an-Nuwairi, MS. No. 702, fol. 73 verso *et seq.* Yahya, the son of Zaid, effected his escape into Khorāsān on the death of his father, but was arrested there by the governor Nasr Ibn Saiyār (vol. II. p. 104). He was subsequently liberated by order of the khalif Walīd Ibn Yazīd, but was massacred, with all his companions, by a body of troops which Nasr sent after him.—(Price's *Retrospect*, A. H. 124, 125.)

(10) In Arabic: *sāhib al-Hamiya*.

(11) See vol. I. pp. 72 and 600, where his name is incorrectly transcribed Afshin.

(12) See d'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* under the word *Babek*.

(13) Māzyār Ibn Kārūn Ibn Zaid, governor of Tabaristān, revolted against al-Motasim, A. H. 224 (A. D. 839). He was taken prisoner by Abū Allah Ibn Tāhir and put to death by order of the khalif.—(See Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II. p. 146. Ibn al-Athīr gives a long account of Māzyār's revolt in his *Annals*.)

(14) That is: He was not a holy man, favoured with the divine assistance, like Muḥammad. The poet alludes to the passage of the Korān, surat 9, verse 40, where it is said, speaking of the departure of Muḥammad from Mekka and of his hiding in the cavern of mount Thaur with Abū Bakr: "If ye assist not the Prophet, verily God will assist him, as he assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him (out of Mekku), the second of two: when they were both in the cave." In the verse of Abū Tammām, the words كَانَيْنِ ثَانِ (as of two the second) are equivalent to كَانَانِي أَثْنَيْنِ (as the second of two).

(15) The *samām* is the burning and poisonous wind which travellers generally call *simoom*. The true pronunciation of this word may be represented by *snoom*, pronouncing the diphthong in the English manner.

## FAKHR AL-MULK THE VIZIR.

Abū Ghālib Muḥammad Ibn Khālaf, surnamed Fakhr al-Mulk (*glory of the empire*), was successively vizir to Bahā ad-Dawlat Abū Nasr, (the son of Adud ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih,) and to his son Sultān ad-Dawlat Abū Shujāa Fanna-khrosā. With the exception of Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Amīd (vol. III. p. 261) and

of the *Sahib* Ibn Abbâd (vol. I. p. 212), Fakhr al-Mulk was certainly the greatest vizir ever employed in the service of the Bûide dynasty. His family belonged to Wâsit, and his father followed the profession of a money-changer. Possessing a large fortune, he gave an ample career to his generous disposition, and the accomplishments of his mind were equalled only by his beneficence. Poets of the highest reputation visited his court and extolled his merit in *kasidas* of exquisite beauty, and Abû Nasr Abd al-Aziz Ibn Nubâta (vol. II. p. 138) celebrated his praises in some beautiful poems, one of which, rhyming in *n*, contains the following passage :

Every man who aspires to eminence has rivals, but Fakhr al-Mulk remains without an equal : alight at his residence and make known to him thy wishes, I engage their fulfilment.

I have been informed by a literary man that, after the publication of this *kasida*, a certain poet composed a piece of verse in honour of Fakhr al-Mulk, and not receiving a recompense equal to his expectations, he went to Ibn Nubâta and said : " It was you who encouraged me, and I should not have enlogised him, " had I not trusted to the engagement which you took (*that my expectations should be fulfilled*). Pay me therefore the value of my *kasida*." Ibn Nubâta satisfied, out of his own purse, the demand of the poet, and Fakhr al-Mulk, on being informed of his generous conduct, sent him a large sum of money as a present. Another poet who sung the praises of this vizir was al-Mihyâr Ibn Marzawaih, a *kâtib* whose life shall be given (*in this volume*). He composed in his honour the *kasida* rhyming in *r*, which contains this passage :

When my heart feels a slight relief (*from cares*), I inquire if grief be dead and if joy have returned to life, or if misfortune fears to assault me because I fled from it to the protection of Fakhr al-Mulk.

The poems written in praise of Fakhr al-Mulk are very numerous. It was for this vizir that the accountant Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Karkhi (1) composed his treatise on algebra, entitled, *al-Fakhri (the Fakhrian)*, and his arithmetical work, the *Kâfi (sufficient)* —I read in a certain compilation that an elderly man having presented to Fakhr al-Mulk a memorial in which he accused another person of a capital crime, the vizir perused it and wrote these words on the back of the paper : " Delation is vile, even though well founded ;

“and if you meant it as a counsel, your failure therein is greater than your success. God forbid that (*the accusation made by*) a man dishonoured against a respectable person should be received! and were you not protected by your grey hairs, I would inflict on you the punishment which you invoke on others, and thus prevent persons like you from acting in the same manner. Hide this disgraceful (*passion of calumny*) and fear Him from whose knowledge nothing is hidden. Adieu.”—Abû Mansûr ath-Thaâlibî (*vol. II. p. 129*) has inserted the following lines in his *Yatîma* as the production of al-Ashraf, Fakhr al-Mulk's son :

The splendid train passed by me, but I saw not there (*him who in beauty was as*) the moon among the stars. Say to the emir of the troops : “Tell me, sir! what hinders the lord of beauty from riding out?”

Numerous anecdotes are related illustrative of Fakhr al-Mulk's noble character. He continued in the enjoyment of rank, power, and honours till he incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, Sultân ad-Dawlat, and, being imprisoned by his orders, he was executed some time after, at the foot of the mountain which is near al-Ahwâz. His death occurred on Saturday, the 27th of the first Rabi, A. H. 407 (September, A. D. 1017). His corpse was interred on the spot, but so carelessly, that it was torn up and devoured by dogs. His bones were then restored to the tomb, and, on the following year, they were removed, through the intercession of a friend, and buried in a funeral chapel which stands there. Abû Abd Allah (*Ahmad*) Ibn al-Kâdisî (*vol. I. page 290*) says, in his history of the vizirs (*Akhbâr al-Wuzarâ*): “The vizir Fakhr al-Mulk was guilty of a negligence in the discharge of his duty, and he received a speedy chastisement. One of his favourites had killed a man out of malice and the wife of the person murdered applied to the vizir for redress. He paid no attention to her complaint, and one night, as he went to pay a devotional visit to the funeral chapel near the gate called Bâb at-Tin, she met him there and said: ‘O Fakhr al-Mulk! the request which I addressed to you, imploring for vengeance, and to which you paid no attention, that request I have referred to Almighty God, and I am now expecting the announcement of His decision!’ The vizir being then called into the sultan's tent, was arrested by his orders. ‘Now,’ said he, ‘there is

“no doubt but that God's decision has been pronounced on the woman's complaint.” When the sultan rose to retire, they led off the vizir, and conducted him to another tent after seizing on his wealth, treasures; and equipages, and imprisoning his sons and companions. He was then executed on “the date”—above mentioned.—“His confiscated wealth amounted to six hundred and thirty thousand dinars, besides a vast quantity of furniture. It is even said that one million two hundred thousand dinars, in specie, were found in his possession.” The *sharīf* al-Murtada (*vol. II. p. 256*) composed an elegy on his death, but, as I neglected to make extracts from it, I am unable to quote any part of it here. May He be exalted, the Being subtle and all-knowing, who worketh what he pleaseth! — Fakhr al-Mulk was born at Wāsit on Thursday, the 22nd of the latter Rabi, A. H. 354 (April, A. D. 965).

(1) Abū Bakr al-karkhi was vizir to Bahā ad-dīn and bore the surname of Fakr ad-dīn. His *Fakhri* is a full and highly valuable treatise.—(Hajji Khalifa.)

### FAKHR AD-DAWLAT IBN JAHIR THE VIZIR

Abū Nasr Muhammad Ibn Jahir, surnamed Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*glory of the empire*) Muwaiyad ad-dīn (*strengthened in religion*), was a member of the tribe of Thalaba and a native of Mosul. Gifted with judgment, intelligence, foresight, and aptitude for business, he left Mosul for reasons too long to be related, and obtained the place of director in chief (*nāzir*) in the board of public administration (*diwān*) at Alppo. Having lost this situation, he proceeded to Aamid, where he remained some time unemployed, but he had at length sufficient interest to procure from the emir Nasr ad-Dawlat Ahmad Ibn Marwān al-Kurdi (*vol. I. p. 157*), lord of Maiyāfārikin and Diār Bakr, his nomination to the post of vizir (1). He continued to govern with absolute authority till the death of his master Nasr ad-Dawlat and the accession of Nizām ad-dīn, that prince's son. Being then admitted into the favour of the new sovereign,

who treated him with the highest marks of honour, he brought the affairs of the empire into order and re-established the administration of the state on the same plan as it had been under the reign of Nasr ad-Dawlat. Having subsequently conceived the project of removing to Baghdad, he directed his measures towards that object, and, opening a correspondence with the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Kâim bi-amrillah, he never ceased intriguing and lavishing money till Ibn Tirâd az-Zainabi (2), the *nakib an-nukabâ* (3), came to him and entered into arrangements. The preliminaries being terminated to his entire satisfaction, he left the city with the (*ostensible*) intention of bidding farewell to his visitor, but (*instead of returning*) he continued his route towards Baghdad. (*Nizâm ad-dîn*) Ibn Marwân immediately sent after him to bring him back, but his efforts were unsuccessful. On arriving at Baghdad, Fakhr ad-Dawlat replaced Abû 'l-Ghanâim Ibn Dârest (*v. III. p. 156*) in the vizirship, A. H. 454 (A. D. 1062), and he continued to fill this office during the lifetime of al-Kâim. Under al-Muktadi bi-amrillah, al-Kâim's (*grand-son* and successor, he remained in place two years longer, but, on the Day of Arafâ (*the 9th of Zû 'l-Hijja*), he was deposed by the khalif in pursuance of the counsels of the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk (*v. I. p. 413*), and Ibn Dârest was reinstated in the vacant place.—Amîd ad-Dawlat Sharaf ad-din (*column of the empire, nobleness of religion*) Abû Mansûr Muhammad, the son of Fakhr ad-Dawlat, had acted as his father's lieutenant in the vizirship, but, on the removal of his parent from office, he went to the court of Nizâm al-Mulk, the vizir of Malak Shâh Ibn Alp Arslân the Seljûkide, and, having conciliated his favour, he continued with him in high credit, for some time, and then returned to Baghdad, where he occupied the place formerly held by his father. In the year 476 (A. D. 1083-4), Fakhr ad-Dawlat accepted the invitation of the sultan Malak Shâh and visited the court of that sovereign, where he received his nomination to the government of Diâr Bakr. He proceeded to that province accompanied by the emir Ortuk Ibn Aksab (*vol. I. p. 171*), lord of Hulwân, and a numerous troop of Turkomans, Kurds, and emirs. Soon after his arrival, the city of Aamid fell into the power of his son Abû 'l-Kâsim Zaim ar-Ruwâsâ (*leader of the chiefs*), after sustaining a severe siege, and three months later, he himself took the city of Maiyâfârikîn from Nâsir ad-Dawlat Abû 'l-Muzaffar Mansûr, the son of Nizâm ad-dîn, and seized on the treasures of the Merwanide dynasty. This took place in the year 479 (A. D. 1086) (4). We may here notice a pre-



diction with which this event coincided in a singular manner. An astrologer went to Nasr ad-Dawlat Ibn Marwân and foretold to him, among other things, that a man of whom he had been the benefactor would attack the kingdom and take it from his (*Nasr ad-Dawlat's*) children. The prince, after some moments' reflexion, raised his head, and, looking at Fakhr ad-Dawlat, he said: "If these words be true, this *shaikh* is the man!" He then turned towards him and recommended his children to his care. Things fell out as was foretold; Fakhr ad-Dawlat having invaded the country and taken its cities, as we have already related, but the details would lead us too far (5). This vizir was a *râis* of the greatest influence: his family produced a number of vizirs and *râis* whose praises were celebrated by eminent poets. When Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*Ibn Jahîr*) was raised to the vizirship, the poet Abû Mansûr Ali Ibn al-Hasan, generally known by the appellation of Surr Durr (*vol. II. p. 324*), addressed to him from Wâsit the celebrated *kastîda* which begins thus:

To satisfy the longing of a heart which will never recover from the seductions (*of love*), and the longing of a soul whose slightest wishes remain ungratified, we stopped in ranks at the (*deserted*) mansions,—dwellings which appeared like volumes cast on earth whilst we presented the aspect of their written lines. My friend then said, as the gazelle passed by: "Is that the object of thy love?" and I replied: "One like to it; but, if its neck and eyes resemble those of my beloved, it differs from her in the "hack and in the breast." Strange that she should avoid a person with whom she is familiar, whilst the most timid of animals foregoes its fears and approaches near us! But the gazelles of human race know well that lovers who visit them are the falcons (*which they have to dread*). Was it not sufficient for these dwellings that their sons (*youths*) have tormented our hearts? why then should their moons (*maidens*) have assisted to afflict us? We turned away through fear of their females: why then should their males call us to combat? By Allah! I know not whether, on the morning those females looked at us, their glances were arrows or cups (*of intoxication*) which they passed around! If they were arrows, where was their rushing sound? if wine(*-cups*), where was their joy? O my two companions! permit me to approach the wine they offer, for before this, I was permitted to approach even to them (6). Suppose that they shun the lover whom they dread, what am I but the mere shadow (*of a lover*) which visits them (*in their dreams*). You two have told me that no paradise exists on earth; but do I not here behold the large eyed maids of paradise seated upon the pillions of these camels? Think not that my heart is free; my bosom is its prison, and there it remains a captive (*unable to follow my beloved*). 'Tis difficult for lovers to assuage their ardent thirst (7) when the source at which they try to quench it is the lips of the fair. Acacia-tree of these reserved grounds! tell me by what means you gained her favour so that you were kissed by her lips (8)?

In the eulogistic part of the same poem, the poet says:

Thou hast restored to the body of the vizirship its soul (*in occupying that post again*), at a time when no hopes were entertained of its being ever raised to life and revived. For a season it remained in a state of impurity with another man, but now is the time of its cleanness and purity (9). It is but just that it should be given to him who deserved it, and that he who lent it should take it back again. When a handsome female is matched to a man beneath her, prudence recommends a divorce.

The same poet recited to him the following poem on his restoration to the vizirship, in the month of Safar, A. H. 464—December, A. D. 1068, by the khalif al-Muktadi. This was previous to the departure of (*Ibn Jahîr*) for the court of the sultan Malak Shâh:

Justice has been rendered to (*you who were*) its source; and you, of all mankind, deserved it best. You were only like the sword, drawn from its scabbard to be sheathed again. The hand of its master brandished it to try its edge, and its brightness dispensed him from putting its sharpness to the test (10). How noble the post of vizir! it lost its efficacy as long as it remained confided to hands incompetent (11). From the moment you left it, it was impelled towards you with a desire strong as that of the aged man for the restoration of his youth. Men like you are exposed (*to the strokes of*) envy, but it is impossible to strike the thunderer in his cloud. Many desire that place, but who dare expel the lion from his den? The sire of many whelps rends with teeth and claws the man who presses him too closely in his covert. Hast thou ever seen or heard of one who arrays himself in the skin cast off by the serpent? (12).

In the same piece we remark the following passage:

On seeing the vizirship become his field (*of action*), they received the conviction that to his eagle alone belonged (*the empire of*) the air. The moon is expected to appear again after its disappearance, when the month is ended, and never do men despair of the sun's rising again, although he may be enveloped in the shades of night. How sweet is home! and sweeter yet for him who returns from a distant land! How often has a man's return conducted him to a perpetual sojourning; so that, coming back, he remains at home for ever. Were pearls to draw near to the merchant, the diver would not prosper. Were pearls to remain for ever in their shells, they had never been valued as ornaments for crowns (13). No pearl of the sea, no coral can be had, but by traversing the dangers of its waters.

This *husîda* being of great length, we shall confine ourselves to these extracts. In the life of Sâbûr Ibn Ardashîr (*vol. I. p. 554*), we have given three verses addressed to him by Abû Ishak as-Sâbî (*vol. I. page 31*), in which he congratulates him on his restoration to the vizirship; nothing of the kind has ever been composed to equal them. Another poet who celebrated the praises of Ibn Jahîr was the general (*al-kâid*) Abû 'r-Rida al-Fadl Ibn Mansûr Ibn az-Zarif

al-Fārīkī (*native of Maiyāfirikhu*), who composed on him the celebrated piece of verse rhyming in *h* ح . We give it here :

O you who speak in verse ! I gave you good counsel, but I am never so unfortunate as when I give advice : time has removed (*from the world*) all the generous men, and thereby hangs a tale long to relate. You extol for beauty and comeliness the ugliest faces to be seen, and you seek for liberality in a man whose soul was formed in the mould of avarice : hence you lose your pains, for your praises are falsehoods. Spare your verses, for, in such attempts, I never saw the hopes of any man even by accident successful. If you doubt my words, prove me a liar by citing a single patron who has acted generously : with the exception of that vizir whose rule offers a series of noble acts to charm the ear of time.

Fakhr ad-Dawlat *Ibn Jahīr* was born at Mosul in the year 398 (A.D. 1007-8) ; he died there in the month of Rajab—some say of Muharram—A.H. 483 Sept. A. D. 1090 , and was interred at Tall Tauba (*vol. I. p. 406*), a hill opposite to Mosul and separated from it by the river (*Tigris*). In the year 482 (A. D. 1089-90), he returned to Diār Rabiā as viceroy to Malak Shāh, and, in the month of Ramadān, he commenced his campaign by occupying Nasibīn ; he subsequently took possession of Mosul, Sinjār, ar-Rahaba, al-Khābūr, and Diār Rabiā, and prayers *the khotba*, were then offered up for him, from the pulpits, as lieutenant of the sultan. From that time, he continued to reside at Mosul till his death. —As for his son Amid ad-Dawlat (*see page 287*), he is spoken of in these terms by Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadāni, in his historical work : “ He acquired a wide renown by his gravity, dignity, integrity, and  
“ wisdom ; he served (*in a civil capacity*) under three khalifs, and acted as  
“ vizir to two of them. The pensions which he enjoyed and the presents received by him were immense. Nizām al-Mulk always spoke of him in terms  
“ of the highest respect, and looked upon him as a man of the greatest ability  
“ and intelligence : he took his advice on every affair of importance and preferred it to that of the most prudent and distinguished members of the council. The chief defect to be found in him was his advanced age. His words,  
“ of which he was very sparing, were treasured up in the memory (*of his hearers*), and a verbal application to him was equivalent to the accomplishment of the speaker’s wishes. One of his remarkable sayings was that which  
“ he addressed to the son of the *shaikh* and *imām* Abū Nasr Ibn as-Sabbāgh (*the son of the dyer ; vol. II. p. 164*). ‘Study with assiduity, or you will become a

“ ‘dyer (*sabbāh*) without (*the necessity of deriving that epithet from*) a father.’ ”—The vizir Nizām al-Mulk gave his daughter Zubāida in marriage to Ibn Jahir, who was at that time out of place, and this alliance procured his re-appointment to the vizirship. In allusion to this circumstance, the *sharīf* Abū Yalā Ibn al-Habbāriya (*rol. III. p. 153*) composed the following lines :

Say to the vizir without being deterred by the gravity of his aspect, though he appear grand and exalted in his station : “ Were it not for the daughter of the *shaikh*, you had not been appointed vizir a second time ; thank then the thing which created thee lord-vizir.”

I read the following anecdote in the handwriting of Osāma Ibn Munkid (*rol. I. p. 177*), who states that the poet as Sābik Ibn Abi Mahzāl al-Maarri (*rol. III. page 157*), related as follows : “ Having gone to Irāk, I joined Ibn al-Habbāriya and he said to me one day : ‘ Let us go and pay our respects, ‘ ‘ to the vizir Ibn Jahir.’ This vizir had been just restored to power. “ When we presented ourselves before him, Ibn al-Habbāriya handed him “ a small piece of paper. Ibn Jahir read its contents, and I perceived his “ countenance change and express displeasure. We immediately left the “ hall of audience, and I asked my companion what was in the paper ? He “ replied that we could expect nothing better than to have our heads cut “ off 15. These words filled me with trouble and apprehension : ‘ I am a “ ‘ stranger here,’ said I : ‘ I have kept your company for the last few days “ ‘ only, and yet you seek my death !’ To this he merely replied : ‘ What has “ ‘ happened has happened !’ We then went to the door with the intention of “ going out, but the porter prevented us, saying that he had received orders “ to stop us. On this I exclaimed : ‘ I am a stranger here, from Syria, and the “ ‘ vizir does not know me : the person whom he wants is this man.’ The por- “ ter merely replied : ‘ It is useless to talk ; thou shalt not go out.’ I then “ felt certain that my last hour was come. The company had nearly all de- “ parted when a page came to the door with a paper containing fifty dinars, and “ said (*in his master’s name*) : ‘ We have already given thanks ; give thou also “ ‘ thanks.’ (Ibn al-Habbāriya then handed me ten of these dinars, and I asked “ him what was in the paper ? He replied by reciting to me”—the two verses just mentioned — “ and I swore that I would keep company with him no

"longer." Amid ad-Dawlat (*the son of Ibn Jahîr*) left some poetry which *Ibn ad-dîn* has inserted in the *Kharîda*, but it is by no means satisfactory. Ibn as-Samâni *col. II. p. 156* speaks of him in his Supplement, and a great number of contemporary poets have celebrated his praises. It was in his honour that Surr-Durr composed the celebrated *kasîda* rhyming in *ain*, which begins thus :

When the caravan took their leave, *we saw the object of thy love and* thy exense (*for loving*) was evident; all the passions of our souls were borne off in those palanquins. Wherever their camels direct their course, thither thou turnest thy eyes; dost thou see full moons (*fair maids*) appear in every valley? In the caravan which departed from the grounds of the tribe is a gazelle (*maiden*) for whom my heart is a pasturage and my eyes a watering-place. From the regions of her beauty we are debarred access, and, to protect her from all eyes, a veil is her guardian. She mistook the nets (*the ties of love*) for huntresses and yielded to fear; therefore she broke every tie. The protector of her path knew not that, when discourse with her was forbidden, I spoke with my fingers, and that, when she sent her image to visit my couch and salute me (*in my dreams*), I heard with my eyes.

This is a long *kasîda* of great brilliancy. The verse : *She mistook the nets for huntresses, etc.*, bears some resemblance to the words of Ibn al-Khammâra, a Spanish poet :

Ask news of sleep from these eyes which, for so long a time, knew it not; it came seldom, and those nights were rare. When the bird of sleep thought my eyes a nest, it saw the eyelashes and yielded to fear, mistaking them for nets.

As I have not been able to discover the date of Ibn al-Khammâra's death, so as to determine the age in which he lived, I know not if one of these poets has copied the other. It may be, however, that both fell upon the same thought, and that neither of them borrowed it from the other. — Amid ad-Dawlat was deposed from the vizirship and imprisoned in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 492 (July-August, A. D. 1099), and he died, the same year, in the month of Shawwâl. The poet Abû 'l-Karam Ibn al-Allâf addressed to him the following lines :

Without our eulogiums, the deeds of the good would not be distinguished from those of the bad. Thinkest thou, because thou art hidden from our eyes, that thou art sheltered from our tongues?

His wife, the daughter of Nizâm al-Mulk, died in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 470 (February-March, A. D. 1078). Her marriage took place in the year 462

(1069-70). Surr-Durr composed on Zaim ar-Ruwasâ Abû 'l-Kâsim, the son of Fakhr ad-Dawlat, the poem rhyming in *kdf* ق which commences thus :

Tears visit thy eyes by day, and sleeplessness by night ; between them both, how can sight escape ?

It is an exquisite poem, full of originality and highly celebrated, but it is needless to lengthen this article by inserting it. Zaim ar-Ruwasâ Abû 'l-Kâsim was appointed to the vizirship under the *imâm* (*khalîf*) al-Mustazhir billah, in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 496 (May-June; A. D. 1103); he then received the surname of Nizâm ad-din (*support of religion*). The word *جهر* must be pronounced *Jahr*, as-Samâni being mistaken when he says that it should be pronounced *Juhair*. They say of a man that he is *jahr* and that he displays the quality called *jahâra* (16) when he has an agreeable countenance. They say also of a man's voice that it is *jahr* when it sounds clear and loud.

(1) "Fakhr ad-Dawlat Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jahlr was a native of Mosul. He entered "into the service of the concubine of Kîrwâsh (vol. I. p. 453) and then into that of Baraka, the sister of Kîrwâsh. He was sent by the latter with presents to the king of the Greeks, and, on his return, he passed "into the service of Kuraish Ibn Badrân vol. III. p. 146. Discovering that his master had the intention of "casting him into prison, he took refuge under the protection of another member of the Okail family and "then passed to Aleppo, where he became vizir to Moizz ad-Dawlat Abû Thumâl Ibn Sâlih. He afterwards "removed to Malatiya, where he met Nasir (*read* Nasr) ad-Dawlat Ibn Marwân, who chose him for vizir."—(Ibn Khaldûn, MS. n° d'entrée 2402, fol. 143.)

(2) We must read *Tîrâd*, or suppose that Ibn Tîrâd was the family name. Ibn Tîrâd az-Zainabi did not obtain the place of *nakib an-Nukabâ* till A. H. 491 (vol. III. p. 136), whereas Fakhr al-Mulk received the visit here spoken of in the year 434.

(3) See note (7), page 156 of this volume.

(4) Abû 'l-Fedâ and Ibn Khaldûn (MS. No. 2402, f. 143 *verso*) place the fall of the Merwanide dynasty of Diâr Bakr in the year 478.

(5) Ibn Khaldûn, *loc. laud.*, has consecrated a chapter to the Marwanides.

(6) Literally: *their curtains, or chambers*.

(7) Literally: It is difficult for bewildered beings, kept from water during five days, to drink at the source, etc. The epithets are here figurative; being properly applied to camels.

(8) The thorn of the acacia is used as a toothpick.

(9) This metaphorical language refers, in its primitive acceptation, to the periodical infirmity of females.

(10) Literally: from (*the effect produced by*) its stroke.

(11) I consider the expression *ما اسودعت الا الى اربابه* as a very ungrammatical equivalent of *استودعت الى غير اربابه*.

(12) The poet means: Behold in Ibn Jahlr a man arrayed in terrors equal to those of the serpent.

(13) Literally: Crowns had never been taken into their account.

(14) The Arabic word here employed designates the female sexual organ.

(15) Literally: The best moment (*for us*) strikes off my head and thine.

(16) The original text must be read thus: *Yukdlu rajulun jahiron baiyino 'l-jahtrati*. This is an example of a philological formula which occurs frequently in lexicons and commentaries. The word بايىن (baiyin) is an adjective agreeing with *rajul*, and must not be confounded with the preposition بين (bain). The passage, literally rendered, would run thus: "*they say: a man evident of jahāra*" i. e. whose *jahdra* is evident.

## AR-RUDRAWARI.

Abū Shujāa Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ibrahim, surnamed Zahir ad-din (*champion of religion*) ar-Rûdrâwari, was born at al-Ahwâz, but his family belonged to Rûdrâwar. Having studied jurisprudence under the *shaikh* Abū Ishak as-Shirâzi (*vol. I. page 9*) and cultivated the belles-lettres, he was appointed vizir to the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Muktadi bi-amr illah, on the deposition of Amid ad-Dawlat Ibn Jahir. We have spoken of this person in the life of his father Fakhr ad-Dawlat; see the preceding article. Ar-Rûdrâwari's nomination took place in the year 476 (A. D. 1083-4), and he was dismissed from office on Thursday, the 19th of Safar, A. H. 484 (April, A. D. 1091). Amid ad-Dawlat was then re-instated in the vizirship. When ar-Rûdrâwari read the ordinance (*taukî*) of the khalif proclaiming his deposition, he recited the following verse:

He entered into office without an enemy; he retired without a friend.

The Friday following, he proceeded on foot from his house to the mosque, and the people flocked about him, offering up prayers for his welfare and all anxious to take him by the hand. In consequence of this occurrence, he received orders to remain at home and not to appear in public. Being then exiled to Rûdrâwar, the ancient seat of his family, he resided there for some time and, in the year 487 (A. D. 1094), he undertook the pilgrimage to Mekka. On reaching the vicinity of ar-Rabada (1), the caravan which he accompanied was attacked by the Arabs of the desert, and not one of the travel-

lers escaped except himself. Having performed the pilgrimage, he went to make a devotional residence in the City of the Apostle (*Medīna*), and remained there till his death. He expired on the 15th of the latter Jumāda, A. H. 488 (June, A. D. 1095), and was interred in the Baki cemetery, near the dome which covers the tomb of Ibrahim, the Prophet's son. He was born in the year 437 (A. D. 1045-6). The *kātib* Imād ad-dīn mentions him in the *Kharīda*, and speaks of him in these terms: "The age in which he lived was the happiest of ages, and  
 " the time in which he existed the most prosperous of times. None of the vizirs  
 " had ever displayed such zeal as he for the service of religion and the observ-  
 " ance of the law. In all affairs connected with religion he was strict and severe,  
 " but, in temporal matters, easy and indulgent. Never did he incur the slightest  
 " reprehension for remissness in his duty towards God." He then adds: "Ibn  
 " al-Hamadāni has spoken of him in the *Muzaiyal* (2: 'His days,' says he, 'were  
 " the most fortunate of days for the two empires 3, the most happy for the  
 " people, the most complete for the security, prosperity, and welfare of the  
 " country; no misfortune came to trouble those days, no terror to alloy them.  
 " Under his administration, the khalifate recovered that respect and veneration  
 " which it received in former times. As a penman and an orator, he was  
 " the most accomplished of men.'" The *hāfiz* Ibn as-Samāni says of him in his Supplement: "He drew his renown from a fund of consummate merit, vast  
 " intelligence, dignified conduct, and unerring foresight. He left some poems  
 " pervaded by a strain of natural tenderness. Adversity having given him a  
 " moral lesson, he was deposed from the vizirship and obliged to confine him-  
 " self to his house, but he subsequently removed from Baghdad and took up  
 " his abode at Medina, in the neighbourhood and under the protection of the  
 " Prophet's tomb. He remained in that city till his death. I went to visit his  
 " tomb which is near that of Ibrahim, the son of our Prophet, in the Baki ce-  
 " metery." Farther on, he says: "I have been informed by a person on whose  
 " word I can rely, that Abū Shujāa, on the approach of death and on the point  
 " of departing from this world, was carried to the mosque of the Prophet, and  
 " being placed near the enclosure which surrounds the tomb, he wept and  
 " said: 'O Prophet of God! Almighty God has said: *But if they, after they have*  
 " *injured their own souls, come unto thee and ask pardon of God, and the Apostle*  
 " *ask pardon for them, they shall surely find God easy to be reconciled and merci-*



“ful (4. Now I have come unto thee acknowledging my faults and transgressions, and hoping for thy intercession.’ He here wept again and returned to his house. He died the same day.” His poetical productions have been collected into a *diwân* and are very fine. Here are some extracts from it :

I shall punish my eyes, heedless whether they shed tears or drop blood ; and I shall forego the pleasure of sleep till it become for my eyelids a thing forbidden. My eyes cast me into the nets of temptation, and, had they not looked (*on beauty*), I should have remained a pious Moslim. They shed my blood (5), yet they shed not their tears ; ’twas they which commenced (*to transgress*) and are therefore more culpable (*than I*).

Though I love thee, I seem insensible, but this heart of mine is filled with pain and anguish. Think not that I have forgotten thee ; a man may appear in health and yet be unwell.

Must the best part of my life and yours pass away without our meeting ? that would be a severe infliction ! but if deceitful fortune ever grant me your presence, then, despite my poverty, I shall be happy.

Ar-Rûdrâwari drew up a continuation to Abû Ali Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Miskawaih's (*vol. I. p. 464 Tajdrib al-Umam*, the celebrated historical work which is in every body's hands. Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni says in his History : “ Arrayed in piety, a supporter of religion, a patron and kind protector of pious men, a chastiser of perversity, he displayed virtues which remind me of the equity of the just. He never went out of his house without transcribing a portion of the Koran and reading part of that sacred volume ; he paid the legal alms-tax on all his real property, such as goods, estates, and fiefs. He gave large charities in secret : having one day received a note mentioning that, in such a house, in the Street of the Pitch-seller (*darb al-Kaiyâr*) there was a woman with four orphan children, naked and hungry, he called for one of his followers and said : ‘ Go clothe that family and give them to eat.’ He then took off his clothes, and having sworn not to put them on nor warm himself till the messenger returned and informed him that his orders had been executed, he waited, trembling with cold, till that person came back. His charities were immense.”— *Rûdrâwari* means *belonging to Rûdrâwar* رُودَرَوَر, a town in the neighbourhood of Hamadân.

- (1) See vol. II. page 201.  
 (2) The title of this work sufficiently implies that it was a *continuation* of some biographical or historical treatise. It is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa.  
 (3) Probably the spiritual and temporal power of the khalifate.  
 (4) Koran, sûrat 4, verse 67.  
 (5) That is: my eyes exposed my heart to the wounds inflicted by beauty.

## AL-AMID AL-KUNDURI.

Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Mansûr Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Amid al-Mulk (*column of the empire*) al-Kunduri, was one of the most eminent men of the age for beneficence, liberality, acuteness of mind, and abilities as a *kâtib*. Having been chosen for vizir by the Seljûk sultan Toghrulbek, he rose to the highest rank in the service of that monarch and administered the state with uncontrolled authority (1). He was the first who filled the place of vizir under this dynasty, and, had he no other merit (2) but that of his intimacy with the *imâm* al-Haramain Abd al-Malik al-Juwaini (*vol. II. page 420*), the Shafite doctor and author of the *Nihâya 'al-Matlob* (*that alone would have sufficed for his reputation*). It is as-Samâni (*vol. II. page 456*) who mentions the fact in the notice on the *imâm* which he has inserted in his Supplement. After enlarging on the character of this doctor and noticing the journeys which he undertook to different countries, he says: "And, having gone to Baghdad, he became a companion of Abû Nasr al-Amid al-Kunduri and accompanied him in his (*official*) circuits through the empire; he met also at his court the most eminent juriconsults (*of the country*) and attained great skill in controversy by the conflict (3) of his genius with theirs in learned discussions. He then got into reputation." I must here observe that as-Samâni's words are in contradiction with the statement of our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athir (*vol. II. page 288*), in his History. This writer says, under the year 456 (A. D. 1064): "The vizir (*al-Amid al-Kunduri*) displayed a violent prejudice against the Shafite sect and frequently inveighed against the *imâm* as-Shâfi; to such lengths was he carried by the spirit of party, that, having obtained permission from the sultan Alp Arslân to have curses pronounced

“ against the Rafidites (*the Shītes*) from the pulpits of Khorāsān, he caused the Asharites (*vol. II. p. 227*) to be included in the same malediction. This proceeding gave such scandal to the *imāms* of Khorāsān, that some of them, including Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Kushairi (*vol. II. p. 152*) and the Imām al-Haramain al-Juwaini left the country. The latter then passed four years at Mekka, teaching (*jurisprudence*) and giving opinions, as a *mufti*, on points of law. It was for this reason that he received his surname (4). When Nizām al-Mulk (*vol. I. p. 443*) came into power, he recalled the emigrants and treated them with marked honour and kindness. It is said that, at a later period, al-Kunduri repented of his invectives against as-Shāfi; if this be true, 'tis so much the better for himself.” The praises of Amīd al-Mulk al-Kunduri were celebrated by numerous poets who came to visit his court, and the greatest masters of the age in the art of verse, such as Abū 'l-Hasan Ali 'l-Bākhārzi (*vol. II. p. 323*) and the *rdīs* Abū Mansūr Ali Surr-Durr (*v. II. p. 321*), extolled him in their poems. The latter composed in his honour the following *kasīda* rhyming in **ʾ**:

Is this (*disdain*) the reward which all (*my*) rivals receive for their love? or rather, is this the nature of the large-eyed gazelles (*maidens*)? Relate to me the history of those who fell victims to love; the afflicted live only in their sympathy for others' woes. You may conceal from me their fate through apprehension; but (*every lover*, knows the fate of the Ozrite and of Majnūn (5)). Mounted on their camels—but let me avoid long comparison, yet I shall say that there were the charms which ravished every soul and every eye. Gracefully bending their taper waists, they said in sportive mood to the zephyr: “Does the willow bear branches as pliant as ours?” Behind these lips is a source of which the pebbles are pearls (*teeth*) hidden from view: is it honey which is contained between them or rather intoxicating wine (6)? (*Companion of my journey!*) you cast your eyes to the right and left, over these paths, but even were you gifted with the sharp sight of Zarkā tal-Yamāma (7), (*recollect that*) she never saw a living cloud darting its lightnings over Jirūn (8). You complain of the long and weary nights, but I am deprived of sleep by the shades which the dark locks and ringlets of my mistress spread around. A censor rebuked me for my passion, but I replied: “Be not so prompt! those tears are my own and so are my sighs. If they avail me not (*to gain her heart*), what will avail me the vigour of youth and the intercession of my “twenty years?” (*But come, my heart!*) be not cast down by the blame of thy censor; thou art not the first which, though resolute, yielded to temptation. Can I require from strangers that they conform to my wishes, whilst my heart within my bosom obeys me not? My devotion to their gazelles (*maidens*) was not exacted from me; by what right then should they exact from me pledges (*of fidelity*)? For a moment I feared that my heart would fly and join them, but I forced it to give bail. I can support every affliction except dishonour; contempt is the torture of noble minds. As grains of dust pain my eyes, so also does the sight of men who, devoid (*of virtue*), notwithstanding their wealth and (*the precepts of*) religion, only resemble the human race in being

formed of a (*yet more*) fetid clay; whose looks are ill-omened and whose aspect defiles, so that, after seeing them, I must cleanse my eyes and exhaust all their waters to make them pure. If they count their treasures, there they surpass me; but if they enumerate their virtues, I am their superior. Let not the envious rejoice in the disappointment of my hopes; the moon does not round its orb till it has appeared like a palm-leaf in thinness. Yet this noisy road (*of human life*) speeds forward the camel (*of my worldly course*), and this ocean impels before it the ship laden (*with my hopes*). And, when the abode of Amid al-Mulk is adorned by victory, we exclaim: "A happy omen!" When the resolution of that prince spurs on his generous steeds, they hasten forward with their brilliant riders of bold and lofty bearing. Seldom did I see the brightness of his forehead but mine compelled me to fall prostrate before him. Men's eyes perceive on his throne and on his saddle, the lion in his den, and the moon which dispels the darkness. His beneficence extends to all mankind, and he receives the thanks of the rich accompanied by the blessings of the poor. When they direct their attacks towards his (*generosity*), they exclaim (*struck with his prompt liberality*): Are these sums given from his bounty or paid to us as a debt? Had he lived in ancient times, riches would have complained of his tyranny and appealed to Kārūn (9). The treasures of his wealth are free to every man; then ask him only for the treasures of his learning. To obtain favours at his court, asking is superfluous, and the reward of services is never granted with regret. I swore to meet all the virtues, knowing well that, in seeing him, I should fulfil my oath. He sways the state and abandons not his intentions through fear, neither does he exchange courage for feebleness. Like the sword, the marks of his splendour appear on his blade (*exterior*), and his sharpness in his well-protected edge (*acuteness of mind*). I call his glory to witness that the substance of his person is musk, whilst that of other men's is clay.

He recited this *kasīda* to Amid al-Mulk on the arrival of the latter at Irāk, where he appeared on the throne of the vizirate and in the height of his exalted rank. I have given the whole of this excellent and exquisite poem, with the exception of three verses which did not please me. A number of poets have composed imitations of it in the same rhyme and measure, Ibn at-Ta'āwizi, (*vol. III. p. 164*) for instance, whose *kasīda* begins thus:

If thy custom, when in love, resembles mine, stop thy camels at the two sand-hills of Yabrin (10).

This poem, which displays extraordinary talent, was composed in praise of the sultan Salāh ad-dīn, who was then in Syria, and the author sent it to him from Irāk. Did I not wish to avoid prolixity, I should give it here. (I have inserted it in my notice on Salāh ad-dīn Yūsuf Ibn Aiyūb, and there the reader will find it.) Ibn al-Muallim (*vol. III. p. 471*) imitated it also in a *kasīda* beginning thus:

Why does the camel-driver stop at Yabrîn? he whose heart is free from the pains inflicted by large-eyed gazelles?

This also is a good poem, and I have given a part of it in the life of the author. Al-Ablah (*vol. III. page 162*) also composed a piece in imitation of it; but, on the whole, Ibn at-Taâwizi's is the only one which comes near it. These remarks have led us away from our subject, but discourse naturally runs into digressions which we cannot help inserting.—Amid al-Mulk continued in high power and credit during the reign of Toghrulbek; on the death of that sovereign, his nephew and successor Alp Arslân confirmed the vizir in his post and conferred on him a higher rank and additional honours. Some time afterwards, this monarch resolved on contracting an alliance with Khowârezm Shâh, and sent al-Amid to demand for him that prince's daughter in marriage. The vizir's enemies then spread the report that he had asked her hand for himself, and this news having reached his ears, he conceived so serious an apprehension of his master's displeasure, that he shaved off his beard and eradicated from his body every attribute of manhood. By this act he saved his life. Some say that he was castrated by the sultan's orders. In allusion to this, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali 'l-Bâkharzi composed the following lines:

They say that, in your absence, the sultan deprived that rampant stallion of every mark of virility. I replied: "Be silent! he is now increased in virility since the removal of his testicles. Every male scorns that any part of him should be called "female" (11), and he therefore cut them away by the roots."

This idea is singularly original. In the month of Muharram, A. H. 456 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1063-4), Alp Arslân dismissed him from office, for motives too long to relate, and confided the vizirship to Nizâm al-Mulk Abû Ali al-Hasan at-Tûsi (*vol. I. p. 443*). He afterwards imprisoned Amid al-Mulk in the palace of the governor (*amîr*) of Khorâsân, whence, at a later period, he was removed to Marw ar-Rûd and confined in a house, a closet of which was allotted to his only daughter and the other members of his family. On discovering that his death had been resolved on, he went into the closet and, having bid a last farewell to his relatives, he took with him a shroud (*which he kept ready prepared*); he then locked the door of the closet, and having performed his ablutions and offered up a prayer of two *rakas*, he gave one hundred Naisapurian dinars to the executioner

and said to him : "What I require of you is, that you shroud my corpse in this cloth, which I washed in the (*holy*) waters of (*the well*) Zemzem, and that you say to the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk : You have acted wrong in teaching the Turks to put to death their vizirs and the chiefs of the civil administration ; he that digs a pit shall fall into it ; he that traces out and acts by an evil line of conduct shall bear the sin of it and the sins of all those who follow his example." He then yielded with resignation to the sealed decree of God, and was executed on Sunday, the 16th of Zû'l-Hijja, A. H. 456 (December, A. D. 1064), being then aged upwards of forty years. In allusion to this event, the poet al-Bâkharzi composed the following lines in which he addresses Alp Arslân :

Thy uncle took him into favour, and raising him to honours, he gave him a spacious residence in (*the edifice of*) the empire. Every prince in thy family did justice to his servants ; (*thy uncle*) therefore bestowed on him prosperity, and thou hast bestowed on him paradise.

It is worthy of remark that his testicles were buried in Khowârezm, his blood was shed at Marw ar-Rûd ; his body was interred at Kundur, his native village, his skull and brain at Naisâpûr, and his genitals stuffed with straw and sent to Nizâm al-Mulk, at Kirmân, where they were interred. What a lesson for those who are capable of reflexion, that a man who was the first *raîs* of his time should meet with such a fate ! — *Kunduri* means *belonging to Kundur*, a village in Turai-thith, a district in the neighbourhood of Naisâpûr which has produced a number of eminent men, some of them remarkable for learning.

(1) Literally : and to none of his colleagues (*it pertained to bandy*) words with him.

(2) I read with one of the MSS. *ولو لم يكن له مقبلة لا صحبة* *البحر*. The corresponding member of the phrase is *كفارة* ; it has disappeared from the text a consequence of the additional observations inserted afterwards by the author, and which made him lose sight of this word, which is indispensable.

(3) Or more literally : by the rubbing *باحتكاك*.

(4) See vol. II. page 120.

(5) By the *Ozrite*, he means the poet Jamîl ; see vol. I. p. 331. For *Majnân*, see d'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* art. *Megnoun*, and M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 130.

(6) Literally : Are not the houses of the bee arranged within these lips, or else a shop for wine.

(7) See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. p. 446.

(8) The poet here compares to flashes of lightning the glances shot from the eyes of his mistress. *Jirân* is a village outside Damascus.

(9) Kārūn, the Korah of the Bible (Numb. xvi), possessed immense riches, if we are to believe the legend given in the Koran, surat 28, verse 76 *et seq.*

(10) See Additions and Corrections.

(11) اُنْثِيَان (unthiān), the Arabic term for testicles, is the dual of *untha*, a word which signifies *female*. The word *untha* is also of the feminine gender.

### THE VIZIR JAMAL AD-DIN AL-JAWAD AL-ISPAHANI.

Abū Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Mansūr al-Ispahāni, surnamed Jamāl ad-din (*beauty of religion*) and generally known by the appellation of al-Jawād (*the bountiful*), was vizir to the sovereign of Mosul. His grandfather Abū Mansūr was one of the persons employed in the hunting establishment of the sultan Malik Shāh Ibn Alp Arslān as keepers of the ounces. His father, Ali, received a good education, and being ambitious of distinction, he rose to several high offices in the state and contracted matrimonial alliances with families of the first rank. Jamāl ad-din was educated under his parent's tuition, and, having obtained a situation in the service of the sultan Mahmūd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malak Shāh, as member of the military inspection office, he gave great satisfaction by his conduct and the abilities which he displayed in that post. When the *atābek* Zinki Ibn Ak Sonkur (*col. I. p. 539*) obtained the sovereignty of Mosul and the neighbouring country, he took Jamāl ad-din into his service and honoured him with his particular favour. Having then proceeded with him to Mosul, he conferred on him the government of Nasibin, and, in consequence of the able manner with which he filled the duties of this office, he augmented his jurisdiction by the addition of ar-Rahaba. Here the talents and integrity of Jamāl ad-din appeared conspicuous, and having been admitted into the intimacy of his sovereign and received into the number of his boon companions, he was appointed by him controller (*musharraf*) of the entire principality and authorised to act with unlimited power. Diā ad-din Abū Said Behrām Ibn al-Khidr al-Kafarūtli, whom the *atābek* Zinki had chosen for vizir in the year 528 (A. D. 1133-4), having died in office, on the fifth of Shaabān, A. H. 536 (March,

A. D. 1142, Abū 'r-Rida Ibn Sadaka was appointed to succeed him, and Jamāl ad-din continued to occupy his former posts (4). The amiable disposition of Jamāl ad-din, and his conversation, equally elegant and amusing, gave such pleasure to the *atābek* Zinki, that he admitted him into the number of his boon companions; and in the latter part of his reign he confided to him the control-ship of the administration (*ishraf diwānīh*). Jamāl ad-din thus acquired great wealth, but, during the lifetime of Zinki, he neither displayed the generosity and beneficence nor any other of the qualities (*for which he was afterwards distinguished*). When the *atābek* Zinki met with his death at the siege of Kalāt Jaabar (A. H. 544, A. D. 1146), part of the troops attempted to slay the vizir and plunder his wealth; they attacked his tent and shot arrows against it, but were repulsed by some of the emirs who took his defence. Having then led the army back to Mosul, he was confirmed in the vizirship by Saif ad-din Ghāzi (*vol. II. p. 440*), the son of the *atābek* Zinki, who entrusted to him and Zain ad-din Ali Ibn Baktikin the entire administration of the empire. Of Zain ad-din we have already spoken in the life of his son, Muẓaffar ad-din, lord of Arbela (*v. II. page 535*). From that moment, the vizir displayed the generous dispositions of his heart; he gave away with open hand, and he continued lavishing his wealth and spending immense sums till his reputation for beneficence was so universally established, that he became known by the name of Jamāl ad-din *the beautiful* (*al-Jawād*): a number of poets celebrated his praises, and one of them, Muḥammad Ibn Nasr Ibn Saghir al-Kaisarāni (*vol. III. p. 158*), went and recited in his presence the celebrated *kasīda* which begins by this verse:

Blessings on those (*fair*) gazelles in the western borders of az-Zaurā (2) who quenched  
their thirst with the life's water of our hearts!

Amongst the numerous monuments which he left of his beneficence, we may mention the aqueduct by which water was brought from a great distance to Arafāt during the days of the pilgrimage, the stairs leading from the foot to the summit of that mountain (3), the wall around Medina, and the reparations of the mosque of the Prophet. Every year he sent to Mekka and Medina money and clothing sufficient for the wants of the poor and destitute during the next twelve months: he had a special register-office for the persons to whom he granted pensions or who applied for pecuniary assistance. So various were his deeds



of beneficence that, during a famine which afflicted Mosul, he spent all he possessed in alleviating the misery of the people. His *iktâ* (*grant from government*) consisted in the tenth part of the produce of the soil, such being the usual allowance to vizirs under the Seljûk government. One of his intendants related that, having gone to see the vizir one day, he handed him his *bakyâr* (4) and told him to sell it and give the money to those who were in need. The intendant observed to him that he had only two *bakyârs* remaining, that and the one which was on his head, so that, if he wished to change his head-dress, he would not then have another to put on. To this the vizir replied: "The times are hard, as you see, and 'perhaps I may not again find a moment so favorable as the present for doing an act of charity; as for the *bakyâr*, I can easily find something to supply its place.'" The intendant then withdrew and, having sold the *bakyâr*, he distributed the money to the poor. A great number of similar anecdotes are related of Jamâl ad-din. He continued in office till the death of his master Ghâzi (*in A. H. 544, A. D. 1149*), and, on the accession of that prince's brother, Kutb ad-dîn Maudûd, he exerted great influence over the new sovereign. After some time, however, Maudûd judged his *iktâs* too great, and, being weary of the preponderance which he had acquired in the administration, he arrested him in the month of Rajab, A. H. 558 (May-June, A. D. 1163). In the history of Zain ad-dîn, lord of Arbela, will be found a short account of al-Jawâd's arrestation and his imprisonment in the citadel of Mosul (5). He died in confinement on one of the last ten days of Ramadân—same say, of Shaabân—A. H. 559 (August, A. D. 1164), and was interred at Mosul. When the funeral service was said over his corpse, crowds of poor persons, widows, and orphans attended the ceremony and made the air resound with their lamentations. The following year, his body was conveyed to Mekka and borne in procession around the Kaaba, after having been taken to the top of Mount Arafât on the night during which the pilgrims station there (6). Every day that they remained at Mekka, they carried his body round the Kaaba at different times. On the day of its arrival at that city, crowds assembled about it, weeping and lamenting. It is said that the like of such a day was never witnessed at Mekka. There was a man appointed to accompany the corpse and proclaim the noble deeds and virtues of the deceased at every sacred spot which the pilgrims are accustomed to visit: when they arrived at the Kaaba, that man stood forward and said:

O Kaaba of islamism! he who cometh here to visit thee was a kaaba (*centre*) of beneficence. Thou art visited once a year, but not a day passed without his receiving visits (*from the needy*).

The corpse was then borne to Medina and interred in the Baki cemetery, after having been brought into the city and carried, a number of times, around the enclosure of the Prophet's tomb. On this occasion the same person pronounced these lines:

His bier was borne on men's shoulders, but how often did they bear his gifts! When he passes by the valley, its sands speak his praise, and when he passes by the assembled people, the widows bewail his loss.

These verses are taken from a *kasida* which shall be noticed in the life of Mukallad Ibn Nasr Ibn Munkid as-Shaizari.—Jalâl ad-din Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, the son of Jamâl ad-din al-Jawâd, was an accomplished scholar, a man of merit, eloquent and liberal. I have seen the *diwân* (*collection*) of his epistles, in which species of composition he has displayed great talent. This collection was made by Majd ad-din Abû 's-Saâdât al-Mubâarak, surnamed Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari (*vol. II. page 551*), the author of the *Jamî' al-Osûl*. He entitled it: *Kitâb al-Jawâhir wa 'l-Ladli min al-Imlâ il-Mawlâwî 'l-Wazîr 'l-Jalîlî* (*jewels and pearls from the dictations of the lord vizir Jalâl ad-din*). Majd ad-din commenced life as private secretary to Jalâl ad-din, being employed to write down, under his dictation, the epistles and other productions of his mind. He alludes to this circumstance towards the beginning of the book, and praises him in the highest terms, extolling him above all preceding writers for the elegance of his style. He speaks also of an epistolary correspondence carried on between Jalâl ad-din and Hais-Bais (*vol. I. page 559*); some of these letters he gives, and I should insert part of them here were I not afraid of being led too far. I shall only notice one, because it is very short; it was composed by Hais-Bais in the name of a man greatly in debt: “*Thy* generosity is flourishing, thy renown wide-spread; to succour against misfortune is the noblest support of a generous man's reputation”, and to assist the afflicted (*his*) richest treasure. Adieu.” Jalâl ad-din was vizir to Saif ad-din Ghâzi (*v. II. p. 441*), the son of Kutb ad-din Mandûd. He died A. H. 574 (A. D. 1178-9) at Dunyaser, and his body was taken to Mosul and thence to Medina, where it was interred in the funeral chapel of his father Jamâl

ad-dîn al-Jawâd.—*Dunyaser* is a city in Mesopotamia, between Nasibin and Râs Ain; merchants resort thither from all quarters, as it is situated at a point where the roads of that country meet. Hence it derives its name; *Dunyaser* being a Persian compound word altered from *Dunyâ Ser* (*the world's head*); it being the custom of the Persians to place the consequent before the antecedent when in the relation of the genitive case.—*Ser* means *head* in Persian.—*Kafratâthi* means *belonging to Kafratâtha* (7), a village in Mesopotamia, between Râs Ain and Dârâ.

(1) It will appear from the sequel that Jamâl ad-dîn held the post of grand-vizir. See also vol. II. p. 440.

(2) A number of places in Arabia bear the name of *az-Zauera* (*inflexa, incurva*). It is also one of the names of the river Tigris, and is poetically used to designate the city of Baghdad.

(3) These stairs are still in existence. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II. p. 41.

(4) Meninski gives, on the authority of Castell, the following explanation of this word, which he indicates as Persian: *Tapeti non villosi genus, nigrum, ex pilis camelinis*. In the passage of Ibn Khallikân, it evidently denotes a sort of covering for the head; perhaps a shawl.

(5) An account of Jamâl ad-dîn al-Jawâd's fall will be found in Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni's *History of the Atabeks*; MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 818, p. 266.

(6) *Station (wakfa)*; see Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II. p. 46.

(7) According to Abû 'l-Fedâ, this name is pronounced *Kafartâtha*.

### THE KATIB IMAD AD-DIN AL-ISPAHANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Saḍī 'l-dīn Abī 'l-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn Nāḥis ad-dīn Abī 'r-Rajā Ḥamid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Mahmūd Ibn Hibat Allah, known by the appellation of *Aluh* (1), and surnamed Imād ad-dīn (*pillar of religion*) al-Kātib al-Ispahāni (*the scribe of Ispahān*), was distinguished by the appellation of Ibn Akhi 'l-Aziz (*the nephew of Aẓīz ad-dīn*). We have already spoken of his uncle in our first volume, page 170, under the letter *hamza*. Imād ad-dīn al-Ispahāni was a doctor of the Shafite sect; he studied the law, for some time, at the *Nizāmiya* college (vol. II. page 164) and mastered the science of polemic divinity and the various branches of polite literature. His poems and epistles are so well known that we need not enlarge on the subject.

Having passed his first years in Ispahân, he removed to Baghdad while yet a boy and took lessons in jurisprudence from the *shaikh* Abû Mansûr Saïd Ibn Muhammad Ibn ar-Razzâz (2), a professor of the *Nizâmiyya* college. He learned Traditions in the same city from Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Abd as-Salâm, Abû Mansûr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Jirîn, Abû 'l-Makârîm al-Mubâarak Ibn Ali as-Samarkandî, Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Ashkar, and other masters. Having resided there till he completed his education and attained a great proficiency in erudition, he courted the patronage of the vizir Aûn ad-dîn Yahya Ibn Hubaira (3), who was then at Baghdad, and obtained from him the inspectorship (*of the administration in the province*) of Basra. Some time after, he received his appointment to the same post in Wâsit, and thenceforward he continued removing from one place to another. By the death of Aûn ad-dîn (in A. H. 560, A. D. 1165), the band of his followers and of all connected with him was dissolved; some had to encounter the strokes of adversity, and Imâd ad-dîn remained for a time in poverty and misery (4). He then proceeded to Damascus, where he arrived in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 562 (May-June, A. D. 1167), and obtained an introduction to the *kâdî* Kamâl ad-dîn Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn as-Shahroûrî (*vol. II. page 616*) who, at that time, acted as chief magistrate and governor of the city in the name of the sultan al-Malik al-Aâdil Nûr ad-dîn Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd (5), the son of the *atâbek* Zinki. Happening, then, to discuss a question of controversy in the presence of the *kâdî* on a day in which he received company, Imâd ad-dîn was recognised by the grand emir Najm ad-dîn Abû Shukr Aiyûb (*vol. I. p. 243*), the father of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, who had known his uncle al-Aziz from (*the time of their residence at*) the castle of Tikrit. From that moment, Najm ad-dîn treated him with the kindest attention and granted him such marks of honour as placed him on a rank with the most eminent and the most distinguished. Through his means, Imâd ad-dîn became known to the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, who was then at Damascus, and obtained an opportunity of celebrating the praises of that prince. Imâd ad-dîn mentions all these particulars in his work entitled *ar-Bark as-Shâmi*, and he there gives the *kasîda* which he composed in honour of Salâh ad-dîn. The *kâdî* Kamâl ad-dîn then extolled his merit and capacity in the presence of the sultan Nûr ad-dîn and recommended him as a person perfectly well qualified to draw up the state

correspondence (*kitāba tāl-lushū*). "I hesitated," says Imād ad-dīn, "engaging " in an occupation which lay completely out of my profession and for which I " had no previous experience;" but it is nevertheless certain that he possessed all the talents requisite for this office, only he had not yet put them in application. At first, he was afraid of undertaking the duties of such an place, but he had no sooner commenced than every difficulty disappeared, and the ability with which he filled it remains well established by the originality of his productions. He drew up epistles equally well in Persian and in Arabic. A close and intimate friendship was then formed between him and Salāh ad-dīn. Having risen into high favour with Nūr ad-dīn, he became the depository of that prince's secrets, and was sent by him on a mission to the court of the *imām* al-Mustanjid at Baghdad. On his return, he was appointed by Nūr ad-dīn to a professorship in the college now called after him *al-Imādiyya*. This nomination took place in the month of Rajab, A. H. 567 (March, A. D. 1172). The following year, Nūr ad-dīn conferred on him the presidency of the council of state (*ishrāf ad-dīwān*). Imād ad-dīn's prosperity continued untroubled till the death of his sovereign (A. H. 569, A. D. 1174) and the accession of his son al-Malik as-Sālih Ismail. This prince, who was quite a boy, allowed himself to be circumvented and governed by some individuals who bore a deep enmity to Imād ad-dīn, and the latter was forced by their encroachments and threats to give up all his places and depart for Baghdad. On arriving at Mosul, he had a severe illness, and learning that the sultan Salāh ad-dīn had left Egypt with the intention of occupying Damascus, he renounced his project of visiting Irāk and resolved on returning to that city. Having left Mosul on the 4th of the first Jumāda, A. H. 570 (December, A. D. 1174), he took the road which leads across the desert, and arrived at Damascus on the eighth of the following month, whilst Salāh ad-dīn was besieging Aleppo. He then set out to pay his respects to that prince who had already taken possession of Emessa since the month of Shaabān, and, being admitted into his presence, he recited to him a *kasīda* in which he vaunted his own merit. From that time, he continued to follow the court, journeying when the sultan journeyed and stopping when he stopped. A considerable period elapsed before he could obtain a situation, and, during that time, he attended the levees of Salāh ad-dīn and recited enlogiums to him on every opportunity, alluding occasionally to their former friendship. Having

at length succeeded in entering the sultan's service, he became the secretary, and obtained the confidence of his master. The high favour which he now enjoyed placed him on a level with the most eminent men at court, and enabled him to assume the state and attributions of a vizir. As for al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p. 114*), he was generally absent from court, being wholly engaged in directing the administration of Egypt, whilst Imâd ad-dîn, whom the sultan had now chosen as the depository of his most secret thoughts, never left the imperial presence, but accompanied his sovereign to Syria and the other provinces of the empire. It was he who composed the *as-Sirr al-Maklûm* (6). He wrote also a number of useful works, such as the *Kharîda tal-Kasr wa Jarîda tal-Asr* (*the virgin of the palace and palm-branch of the age*), designed by him as a continuation to Abû 'l-Maâlî Saad al-Hazîrî's *Zîna tad-Dahr* (*vol. I. page 563*), which work was meant as a continuation of al-Bâkharzî's *Dumya tal-Kasr* (*vol. II. p. 323*), which was written as a continuation to ath-Thaâlibî's *Yatîna tal-Dahr* (*vol. II. page 430*). Ath-Thaâlibî meant his work to serve as a continuation to Hârûn Ibn Ali 'l-Munajjim's *Kitâb al-Badr*: we shall give the life of this author. The *Kharîda* of Imâd ad-dîn contains an account of the poets who flourished between the years 500 (A. D. 4406) and 572 (A. D. 4176); it includes, with the exception of a few obscure individuals, all the poets of Irâk, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Maghrib (7), and attests the great abilities of the author. It forms ten volumes (8). His work, *al-Bark as-Shâmi the Syrian Lightning*, in seven volumes, is devoted to historical subjects. The author commences with the history of his own life and gives an account of his journey from Irâk to Syria, and of what happened to him when in the service of the sultan Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd. He then relates by what means he procured his entry into the service of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, and notices some of the conquests achieved in Syria. He entitled this useful book *the Syrian Lightning*, because the hours he spent in those days resembled the lightning flash in the pleasure which they gave (9) and the rapidity with which they passed away. His work, entitled *al-Fath al-Kussî fi 'l-Fath al-Kudsî the Kossium (10) elucidation on the conquest of Jerusalem*), forms two volumes and contains an account of the manner in which Jerusalem was taken (*from the Crusaders*) (11). His *Sail ala 'z Zail* (*torrent after the train, or after the rain*) was designed by him as a supplement to the work which Ibn as-Samâni (*v. II. p. 156*) composed as a continuation

(or supplement, *zail*) to the Khatib's (*vol. I. p. 75*) History of Baghdad. So, at least, I heard said, but, having met with the work, I found it to be a continuation of the *Kharida tal-Kasr*. In his *Nusra tal-Fitra wa Osra tal-Fetra* (*succour against languor and asylum for the human race (?)*), he relates the history of the Seljûk dynasty (12). He left also a *divân* (*collection*) of epistles, and another of poems, in four volumes. In these *kasidas*, he displays a lofty mind. Another *divân* of his, a small one, is composed entirely of couplets (*dâbâit*). Numerous interesting letters and conversations passed between him and al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil: it is related that, meeting him one day on horseback, he said: "Proceed, and may thy horse never stumble with thee (*Sir fala kaba bik al-Faras*)!" to which the *kâdi* replied: "May the glory of Imâd ad-dîn endure (*Dâm ala al-Imâd*)!" These phrases may be equally read backwards and forwards (13).—They were one day riding in the suite of the sultan and their attention being attracted by the clouds of dust raised by the numerous horsemen and covering all the field, Imâd ad-dîn recited to him extempore the following lines:

The dust is raised by the horses' hoofs (*as-sandâbik*); the sky is darkened by it, but it receives light from the brightness of thy presence (*anâra bihi as-sandâ bik*). O fortune! spare me Abd ar-Rahîm (14), and I shall not fear the touch of thy fangs (*massa ndâbik*).

In these three verses he has hit on a beautiful play of words. — Al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil having set out from Egypt in the year 574 (A. D. 1178-9), to perform the pilgrimage, he took shipping on his way, and Imâd ad-dîn addressed him the following letter: "Happiness to the *Hijr* and to al-Hajûn (15), from the possessor " of caution and intelligence (16), from him whose glory reaches the stars and " whose presence enlightens the darkness! (*Happiness*) to the assembly at the " Kaaba from *him who is* the pivot (*kaab*) of generosity, and to the sacred " offerings from one who points out the true path! (*Happiness*) to the noble " station (*of Abraham*) from that noble presence, and to the *hatim* (17) from " him who breaketh the back of poverty. When he appears, he seems a " pyramid in the sacred territory, and a bird hovering around him who draws " the Zemzem waters (18); on sea, he is a sea (*of generosity*); on land, beneficence " itself. Koss has now returned to his Okâz (19), and Kais has come back with his " Traditionists. Admire a *kaaba* visited by one who is a *kaaba* (*rentre or source*) " of bounty and munificence; (*admire*) a *kibla* (20) towards which advances one

“ who is the central point of (*univrsal*) favour and regard. Farewell.” This note is composed with singular art and ingenuity, but the writer is evidently mistaken when he speaks of Kais and his Traditionists; he should have said *Anas with his Traditionists* in accordance with the well known saying: *Anas* (master) of the *Traditionists* (*Anas al-Huffāz*) (21). They were four brothers, each bearing a different surname. Their history I should give here were I not afraid of lengthening this notice and being led away from my subject (22). — On the death of the vizir Aūn ad-dīn Ibn Hubaira, the government of the khalifate (*ad-dīcān al-aṣṭz*, the majestic board) arrested a number of his followers and, amongst them, Imād ad-dīn, because he was then acting as his deputy at Wāsit. In the month of Shaabān, A.H. 560 (June-July, A.D. 1165), Imād ad-dīn addressed from his prison a *kasīda*, containing the following lines, to Imād ad-dīn Ibn Adud ad-dīn Ibn Rais ar-Ruwasā, who was then acting as mayor of the palace (*ustād ad-dār*) to the khalif al-Mustanjid :

Ask the *imām* why his presence (23) withhold its favours from those who once enjoyed his bounties? When the cloud withheld its showers (*watī*), did not his father, by his prayers, set them free?

On hearing these lines, the khalif ordered him to be set at liberty. They contain an original thought and an allusion to the history of Omar Ibn al-Khat-tāb and al-Abbās, the son of Abd al-Muttalib and the uncle of the Prophet. Under the khalifate of Omar, a drought prevailed which threatened the earth with sterility, and he went out accompanied by people to pray for rain. Having taken his station, he pronounced these words: “Almighty God! when we suffered from drought we used to solicit thy assistance through thy favour for our Prophet, but, to-day we implore it through thy favour for the uncle of our Prophet; grant us rain.” And rain was granted. The word *wali*, in the verses just given, signifies the rain which comes after the *wasmi*, or first rains of spring; it is called *wali* (*follower*) because it *follows* the *wasmi*; and the *wasmi* is so called because it marks (*wasama*) the surface of the earth with plants. It is the adjective formed from *wasm* (*mark*). Al-Mutanabbi has employed both terms in the following verse :

Will that gazelle (*ayyiden*) grant me the favour of a renewed affection, the first rains (*wasmi*) of whose kindness were never followed by a second shower (*watī*)?



He means that her first visit was not followed by a second. — Imâd ad-din continued to hold the place of secretary and maintain his high rank at court till the death of the sultan Salâh ad-din (A. H. 589, A. D. 1193). This event reduced him to ruin and deprived him of all his influence (24). Finding every door shut against him, he withdrew to his house and remained there, occupied in the composition of his works. He mentions something of this in the beginning of his *al-Bark as-Shâmi*. In the life of Ibn at-Taâwizi (*vol. III. p. 164*) we have noticed the epistle and *kasîda* in which he requested from Imâd ad-din the gift of a furred cloak, and we have spoken of the answer returned to both documents. Imâd ad-din was born at Ispahân on Monday, the 2nd of the latter Jumâda—some say of Shaabân—A. H. 549 (July, A. D. 1125), and he died at Damascus, on Monday, the first of Ramadân, A. H. 597 (June, A. D. 1201). He was interred in the Cemetery of the *Sâfis*, outside the gate called Bâb an-Nasr. A person who held an eminent rank in the administration and who remained with him during his last illness, informed me that, whenever a visitor came to see him, Imâd ad-din recited the following lines :

I am a guest at thy dwelling; where, O where is the host? My acquaintances know me no longer, and those whom I knew are dead!

*Ahû* is a Persian word signifying *eagle*; *okâb*, in Arabic. It is said that no male eagles exist; all being females which are impregnated by a bird of another species. Some say that they are impregnated by the fox. This is certainly marvellous. Ibn Onain (*vol. III. p. 179*) the poet has the following line in a satire directed against a person called Ibn Sida :

Thou art a mere eagle; we know who thy mother was, but none know who was thy father.

This alludes to the opinion of which we have just spoken, but God alone knows whether it be true or false.

(1) This appears to have been the family name. Its meaning is given by our author at the end of the article.

(2) Abû Mausrâ Said Ibn Muhammâd ar-Razzâz (*the rice-merchant*), an *imâm* and chief president of the shâfiite sect at Baghdad, studied jurisprudence under Abû Saad al-Mutawalli (*vol. II. page 90*), Abû Bakr as-

Shāhisi (vol. II. p. 623), Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī (vol. II. p. 621), al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī (vol. II. p. 229), and Asaḡd al-Mihānī (vol. I. p. 189). He was, for some time, professor in the *Nizāmiya* College. Born A. H. 462 (A. D. 1069-70; died in Zū'l-Hijja, A. H. 539 (May-June, A. D. 1145).—(*Tabakāt as-Shāfi'iyya*).

(3) The life of the vizir Aḥn ad-dīn Ibn Hubaira is given by our author.

(4) Literally: A miserable life and a waking eye.

(5) His life will be found in this volume.

(6) The work entitled *as-Sirr al-Maktūm* (the hidden secret) treats of judicial astrology.

(7) *Maghrib* (the west) here designates North Africa, Spain, and Sicily.

(8) An incomplete copy of this work, made up with volumes belonging to different sets, is preserved in the *Bib. du Roi*. See Nos. 1370, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1414, 1447, of the *ancien fonds*, and No. 363 of the *fonds Asselin*.

(9) See vol. I. p. 464.

(10) See vol. II. page 25, note (5).

(11) Several copies of this work are preserved in the *Bib. du Roi*; a very old and well written one belongs to the *fonds Asselin* of the same library.

(12) This work, of which a copy exists in the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds St. Germain, No. 327, is written in Imād ad-dīn's swollen and extravagant style. Its tone has been softened by the *imām* al-Fath Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Bundārī al-Ispahānī, who entitled his work: *Zubda tal-Nusra wa Nukhba tal-Osra* (scream of the Nusra and extract of the Osra). See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 767 A.

(13) In transcribing them, I have put in italics the vowels which are not represented in the Arabic writing. In the second, the first *a* of *ala* is an *ain*, which letter represents a strong guttural *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, or *u*.

(14) This was al-Kādi 'I Fāḍil's real name.

(15) *Hajān* is a hill near Mekka. The *hijr* is a semicircular area on the west side of the Kaaba, and enclosed by a wall called *katim*. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 252.

(16) This piece derives its sole merit from the numerous quibbles and puns with which it is filled. Such trifling being of no interest to the ordinary reader, I abstain from indicating them and confine myself to the task of rendering intelligible Imād ad-dīn's obscurities of style.

(17) See note (13).

(18) The text is doubtful here; I read *وجانم مانع زمزم*.

(19) See vol. II. page 25, note (5). For *Okz* see Additions and Corrections.

(20) The *Kaaba* is the name of the temple at Mekka. For *kitab* see vol. I. page 37.

(21) I have not been able to discover the origin of this saying.

(22) *Subject*; literally: *from that to which we are near* *ما نحن بصدده*. This is equivalent to: *the subject, or occupation, in which we are engaged*. The meaning of this term has escaped many orientalists, and some have most unwarrantably proposed to read *بصدر* in place of *بصدده*. Nothing can be more certain than the true reading and signification of this phrase, which is of frequent recurrence.

(23) *Presence*; literally, proximity.

(24) Literally: And separated his joints.

## ABU NASR AL-FARABI.

Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Tarkhân Ibn Auzalagh al-Fârâbi the Turk, a celebrated physician and author of various works on logic, music, and other sciences, was the greatest philosopher among the Moslems. None of them ever reached in the philosophical sciences the same rank as he, and it was by the study of his writings and the imitation of his style that Avicenna (*vol. I. p. 440*) attained proficiency and rendered his own works so useful. Al-Fârâbi passed his youth in Farâb, the place of his birth, and then set out to travel. After various peregrinations, he visited Baghdad, where he arrived well acquainted with Turkish and some other languages, but wholly ignorant of Arabic. Having then commenced learning the latter language, he mastered it completely and devoted his mind to the philosophical sciences. On arriving at Baghdad, he found the celebrated philosopher Abû Bishr Matta Ibn Yûnus (1), who was then far advanced in age, teaching logic in that city and possessing the very highest reputation: every day crowds of pupils attended the lectures in which he explained Aristotle's treatise on that subject, and al-Fârâbi filled seventy volumes with the observations which he wrote down from the lips of so able a master. (*Matta*) stood unrivalled in that art; in his writings, he shone by precision of style and subtilty of elucidation, and he aimed at simplifying his meaning by developments and annotations. It was therefore said by an able logician that the abilities which Abû Nasr al-Fârâbi displayed in rendering the most abstract ideas intelligible and expressing them in the simplest words, could only be attributed to the tuition of Abû Bishr (*Matta*). Al-Fârâbi attended his lessons, and always took his station among the crowd of students who surrounded the learned professor. Having thus passed a considerable time, he removed to Harrân, where he met Yûhanna Ibn Khailân (2), a Christian and an able philosopher, from whom he learned some particular applications of the art of logic. He then returned to Baghdad and studied the philosophical sciences. Having mastered all Aristotle's works, he acquired a great facility in comprehending the ideas and the scope of that author's writings. It is related that the following note was found inscribed,

in Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's handwriting, on a copy of Aristotle's treatise on the soul: "I have read over this book two hundred times." It is related also that he said: "I read over the philosopher Aristotle's *Physics* (3) forty "times, and I feel that I ought to read it over again." It is stated that, having been asked whether he or Aristotle was the more learned in this branch of science, he replied: "Had I lived in his time, I should have been the "first of his disciples." Abū 'l-Kāsim Sāid Ibn Abd ar-Rahmān Ibn Sāid al-Kortubi mentions him in his *Tabakāt*, or *classified list* of philosophers (4), and says: "Al-Fārābī, the philosopher of the Moslems in reality, learned the art of "logic from Yūhanna Ibn Khailān, who died at Mādina tas-Salām (*Baghdad*): "in the reign of ʿAl-Muktadir; he then excelled all the people of Islamism and "surpassed them by his real acquirements in that science; he explained its ob- "scurities, revealed its mysteries, facilitated its comprehension and furnished "every requisite for its intelligence, in works remarkable for precision of style "and subtilty of elucidation; noticing in them what al-Kindi (*vol. I. page 355*) "and others had neglected, such as the art of analysis (*tahlīl*) and the modes of "conveying instruction (5). In these treatises he elucidated in plain terms the "five main principles (6) of logic, indicating the manner of employing them "with advantage and the operation of reasoning (*soura tal-kiyās*) in each of them. "His writings on this subject are therefore highly satisfactory and possess the "utmost merit. He afterwards composed a noble work in which he enumerated "the sciences and indicated the object of each; this treatise, the like of which "had never before been composed and the plan of which had never been "adopted by any other author, is an indispensable guide to students in the sci- "ences." Ibn Sāid then proceeds to mention some of his works and the sub- jects of which they treat (7). Abū Naṣr continued, at Baghdad, to labour in the acquisition of this science till he attained in it a conspicuous rank and surpassed all his contemporaries. It forms the subject of most of his works. He then set out for Damascus, but did not stop there, having turned his steps towards Egypt. He mentions in his work, entitled *as-Siyāsa tal-Madaniya* (*administration of the city*), that he commenced it at Baghdad and finished it in Egypt. Having then returned to Damascus, he settled there and met with a kind reception from the reigning sultan, Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdān (*vol. II. p. 334*) (8). I read in a miscellany that, when Abū Naṣr went to Saif ad-Dawlat's levee, which was a

point of union for all persons distinguished by their acquirements in any of the sciences, he appeared in his usual attire, which was that of the Turks (9). Saif ad-Dawlat having invited him to sit down, he said: “(Shall I sit down) where I am, or where thou art?” Saif ad-Dawlat replied: “Where thou art;” on which Abû Nasr stepped over the shoulders of the persons (seated on the floor, till he reached the prince’s throne and sat down so close to him that he forced him out of his place (10). Saif ad-Dawlat had some mamlûks standing behind him, with whom he was accustomed to hold private communications in a particular language known to very few persons. On this occasion, he said to them: “This *shaiikh* has grossly offended against politeness; I shall now propose him some questions, and, if he does not reply to them in a satisfactory manner, turn him into ridicule.” Abû Nasr immediately answered, in the same language: “Consider of it, O emir! for every proceeding is appreciated according to its result.” These words filled Saif ad-Dawlat with astonishment: “How!” said he, “you know this language?”—“Yes;” replied Abû Nasr, “I know upwards of seventy (11).” From that moment, the prince conceived a high opinion of him. Abû Nasr then began to converse with the learned men of the company on all the different sciences, and he continued to harangue till he reduced them to silence and had the whole discourse to himself. They had even commenced writing down his *learned* observations when Saif ad-Dawlat dismissed them and remained alone with the philosopher. “Would you like to eat any thing?” said he.—“No.”—“Or to drink?”—“No.”—“Or to hear (*music*)?”—“Yes.” The prince then ordered some of the most eminent performers of instrumental music to be brought in, but not one of them could touch his instrument without exciting Abû Nasr’s disapprobation. “Have you any skill in this art?” said Saif ad-Dawlat.—“I have,” replied the other, and drawing a case from beneath his waistband, he opened it and produced a lute. Having tuned it, he began to play and cast all the company in a fit of laughter. He then undid the strings and, having tuned it in another manner, he played again and drew tears from their eyes. Mounting it a third time, in a different key, he played and set them all asleep, even the doorkeepers, on which he took the opportunity of retiring and left them in that state. It is stated that the instrument called the *kânûn* (12) was of his invention and that he was the first who mounted it in its present form. Al-Fârâbî led a solitary life and never went into

company; during his residence at Damascus, he passed the greater part of his time near the borders of some rivulet or in a shady garden; there he composed his works and received the visits of his pupils. He wrote most of his works on loose leaves and very few inquires, for which reason nearly all his productions assume the form of detached chapters and notes: some of them exist only in fragments or unfinished. He was the most indifferent of men for the things of this world; he never gave himself the least trouble to acquire a livelihood or possess a habitation. Saif ad-Dawlat settled on him a daily pension of four dirhems (*two shillings and sixpence*) out of the public treasury; this moderate sum being the amount to which al-Fârâbi had limited his demand. He continued to live with the same frugality up to the moment of his death. He died at Damascus, A. H. 339 (A. D. 950-4), aged upwards of eighty years, and the funeral service was said over his body by Saif ad-Dawlat accompanied by four officers of the court. He was interred in the cemetery outside the gate called Bâb as-Saghir.—Matta Ibn Yûnus died at Baghdad under the khalifate of ar-Râdi; so, at least, it is stated by Ibn Sâid al-Kortubi, in his classified list *Tabakât* of physicians (43). I found in a miscellany the following verses attributed to al-Fârâbi, but have no proof of their authenticity:

Quit, O brother! the place of the frivolous and frequent the place of heavenly truths. This (*earthly*) dwelling is not for us a lasting abode; no human being on earth can avert (*the stroke of fate*). This man envies that one, even for (*things which endure*) less than (*the time for uttering*) the shortest words. What are we but a drop of seed on which various fortunes have descended? fortunes always ready to depart! The circuit of the heavens is our fittest place; why therefore so much eagerness for its central point (*the earth*)?

In the *Khavârida* I found these verses attributed to the *shaykh* Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Fârîki, an inhabitant of Baghdad, whom Imâd ad-dîn, the author of that work, says that he met on Friday the 48th of Rajab, A. H. 561 (May, A. D. 1166), and that he died a few years later. — *Auzalagh* is a Turkish name.—*Fârâbi* means *belonging to Fârâb*, the modern *Otrâr* (اُطْرَار); this city lies beyond as-Shâsh and near the city of Balâsâghûn. All its inhabitants follow the doctrines of the *imâm* as-Shâfi. It is one of the capital cities of the Turkish nation, and was called the Inner Fârâb (*Fârâb ad-Dâkhila*) to distinguish it from the Outer Fârâb (*Fârâb al-Khârija*) which is situated on the border of the

province of Fars.—*Baldâsghân* is a town on the Turkish frontier, beyond the river Saihûn (*vol. III. p. 233*), and lying near Kâshghar. — *Kâshghar* is a large city, situated, it is said, within the limits of the Chinese empire (*as-Sîn*).

(4) Abû Bîshr Matta Ibn Yûnus (*Matthew the son of Jonas*), a Christian and a native of Baghdad, held a high reputation as a logician and as a teacher of that science. He died at Baghdad under the khalifate of ar-Râdi, (A. H. 322-329, A. D. 934-941). He composed a commentary on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and a number of other works, the titles of which are given in az-Zûzênî's *Tabakât al-Hukamâ*. That author states that Abû Bîshr once maintained a discussion with the grammarian Abû Saïd as-Sirâfi (*vol. I. p. 377*) in the presence of the vizir Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Furât, surnamed Ibn Hinzâba (الجزابة *sic*).

(2) In the MS. of the *Tabakât al-Hukamâ*, this name is written جبلاد (*Jablâd*).

(3) The Arabic title is *as-Sumda at Tabîe'*, a literal translation of the Greek ἀκουστική, *auscultatio physica*.

(4) Hajji Khalifa entitles this work *Sawâ'u al-Hukm fî Tabakât il-Hukamâ*. The author, Abû 'l-Kâsim Sâïd Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sâïd at-Taghlabi was born at Almeria in the year 420 (A. D. 1029), but his family belonged to Cordova. He was appointed *kâdi* of Toledo by al-Mâmûn Yahya (*Ibn Ismail*) Ibn Zî'u-Nûn, and he continued to fill this office till his death. This event occurred in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 462 (July-Aug. A. D. 1070).—(*Ibn Bashkûrd's Sîlat*.) He composed also some other works noticed by al-Makkari. See Gayangos' *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*.

(5) The original text has انحاء التعاليم; these words I have translated by mere conjecture. The same passage occurs in the life of al-Fârâbi, given by az-Zûzênî in his *Tabakât al-Hukamâ*, but there we read انحاء التعليم.

(6) The MSS. read معاد, but the *Tabakât al-Hukamâ* has طرق. If the writer meant *the five predica-bles*, why did he not employ the word الفاظ?

(7) Az-Zûzênî, or rather al-Kâdi al-Akrâm Ibn al-Kiftî, whose work he abridged, has given a life of al-Fârâbi in his *Tabakât al-Hukamâ*, which life is evidently extracted from that composed by the *kâdi* Sâïd al-Kortubî. The list of works alluded to by Ibn Khallikân fills more than a page in the *Tabakât*.

(8) Saïf ad-Dawlat took possession of Damascus in the year 335 (A. D. 946-7).

(9) According to az-Zûzênî, he wore the *sâfi* dress.

(10) Had Saïf ad-Dawlat answered: *Where I am*, Abû Nasr would have sat down without quitting the place where he stood. Having designated that place by the words *where I am*, and Saïf ad-Dawlat's by the words *where thou art*, he pretended that these terms had the same acceptation when uttered by the prince. To be logically exact, Saïf ad-Dawlat's answer should have been: *Sit down on the floor where thou art now standing*.

(11) I avow that I consider all this narration as a fiction.

(12) The *Kânûn* is a sort of dulcimer. Mr. Lane has given a figure of it in his *Modern Egyptians*.

13. Az-Zûzênî makes the same statement.

ABU BAKR AR-RAZI (*RHASES*.)

Abû Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyâ ar-Râzi (*native of Rai*) was a celebrated physician. Ibn Juljul (1) says, in his History of the Physicians: "He (*ar-Râzi*) directed the hospital at Rai and afterwards, under the khalifate of al-Muktafi (*billah*), the hospital at Baghdad. In his youth, he played on the lute and cultivated vocal music, but, on reaching the age of manhood, he renounced these occupations, saying that music proceeding from between mustachoes and a beard had no charms to recommend it. Having then applied himself to the study of medicine and philosophy, he read the works on these subjects with the attention of a man who seeks to follow the author's reasonings step by step; and he thus acquired a perfect acquaintance with the depths of these sciences and appropriated to himself whatever truths were contained in the treatises which he perused. He then commenced attending the sick and composed a great number of books on medicine." Another writer says: "He was the ablest physician of that age and the most distinguished; a perfect master of the art of medicine, skilled in its practice and thoroughly grounded in its principles and rules. Pupils travelled from distant countries to receive the benefit of his tuition. He composed a number of useful works on medicine, such as the *Hâvi* (*comprehensive*), a large treatise in about thirty volumes, which remains a standard authority for physicians and to which they refer in every doubtful case. His *Jâmi* (*collector*) is also a large and useful work, and his *Kitâb al-Aktâb* (2) is a voluminous production." His abridged treatise on medicine, the *Kitâb al-Mansûri*, is a work of great repute, and though of small extent, is highly appreciated; in this treatise, he combines theory with practice and furnishes essential information for persons of all classes (3). He composed it for Abû Sâlih Mansûr Ibn Nûh Ibn Nasr Ibn Ismail Ibn Ahmad Ibn Asad Ibn Sâmân, one of the Sâmanide kings, and for this reason, he entitled his book *al-Mansûri* (*the Mansurian*). Besides these works, he composed many others, all of them indispensable (*to physicians*). One of his sayings was: "When you can cure by a regimen, avoid having recourse to medicine; and when you can effect a cure with a simple medicine, avoid employing a compound one." He



said again: "With a learned physician and an obedient patient, sickness soon "disappears." And again: "Treat an incipient malady with remedies which "will not prostrate the strength." Till the end of his life, he continued at the head of his profession. He began the study of medicine at an advanced age, being then, it is said, upwards of forty years old. Towards the close of a long life, he lost his sight, and he died A. H. 344 (A. D. 923). He studied medicine under the physician Abū 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Rabn at-Tabari (4), the author of the *Firdās al-Hikma* and other useful works. At-Tabari was at first a Christian (*a Jew*), but he subsequently embraced Islamism.—We have already *vol. I. p. 104*, explained the meaning of the word Rāzi (*native of Rai*).—As for the Samanide kings, they were sultans of Transoxiana and Khorāsān, and one of the best dynasties which ever ruled. The reigning monarch was styled the Sultan of Sultans, and this title came to be considered as the real name of the sovereign. They were distinguished by their justice, piety, and learning. This dynasty was overthrown by Mahmūd Ibn Subuktikin, a sultan whose life we shall give (*in this volume*). The Samanides reigned during one hundred and two years, six months and ten days.—Abū Sālih Mansūr, the prince mentioned in this article, died in the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 365 (June, A. D. 976); he was a boy when ar-Rāzi drew up the *Mansūri* for his instruction.—Since writing the above, I have seen a copy of this work bearing on the title-page an inscription, stating that it was composed for and named after Abū Sālih al-Mansūr Ibn Ishak Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nūh, prince of Kirman and Khorāsān, and a descendant of Bahrām Kūsh (5). God knows best which of these statements is true.—Ibn Juljul relates also, in his History, that ar-Rāzi composed for the same al-Mansūr a treatise establishing the certainty of alchemy, and set out from Baghdad to present it to him. Al-Mansūr testified great satisfaction on examining the work and, having rewarded the author with the sum of one thousand dinars, he said to him: "I wish you to put in practice what you have laid down in "this book."—"That is a task," replied ar-Rāzi, "for the execution of which "ample funds are necessary, as also various implements and aromatics of genuine quality; and all this must be done according to the rules of art, so that "the whole operation is one of great difficulty."—"All the implements you "require," said al-Mansūr, "shall be furnished to you, with every object necessary for the operation; so that you may put in practice the rules contained in

“ your book.” Perceiving the prince in earnest, ar-Râzi hesitated to undertake the task and declared his inability to perform it. On this, al-Mansûr said: “ I should never have thought a philosopher capable of deliberate falsehood in a work represented by him as a scientific treatise, and which will engage people’s hearts in a labour from which they can draw no advantage. I have given you one thousand dinars as a reward for this visit and the trouble which you have taken, but I shall assuredly punish you for committing a deliberate falsehood (6).” He then struck him on the head with a whip and sent him off to Baghdad with a stock of provisions for the journey. That stroke caused a descent of humour into ar-Râzi’s eyes, but he would not permit them to be lanced, declaring that he had seen enough of the world.—Abû Muhammad Nûh Ibn Nasr, the father of (*Mansûr*), died in the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 343 (August, A. D. 954). Abû ’l-Hasan Nasr Ibn Ismail, his grandfather, died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 334 (March–April, A. D. 943), and his great-grandfather Abû Ibrahim Ismail Ibn Ahmad, on the eve of Tuesday, the 14th of Safar, A. H. 295 (Nov. A. D. 907), at Bukhâra: he was born, A. H. 234 (A. D. 848-9), at Farghâna. Abû Ibrahim wrote down Traditions, and honoured men of learning. Ahmad Ibn Asad Ibn Sâmân died at Farghâna in the year 250 (A. D. 864). These observations are foreign to our subject, but we were led into them by the drift of this discourse: they furnish also some important information.

(1) Abû Dâwûd Sulaimân Ibn Hassân, surnamed Ibn Juljul, was physician to Hishâm al-Muwaiyyad billah, the Omayyide sovereign of Spain. Ibn Abi Osaibla’s notice on this physician will be found in M. de Sacy’s *Abd Allatif*, p. 495.

(2) In Arabic كتاب الاقطاب. The right pronunciation and the meaning of this title are unknown to me.

(3) An article on Abû Bakr ar-Râzi will be found in M. Wüstenfeld’s *Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte* (*History of the Arabian physicians*). M. Reinaud has given a notice on ar-Râzi in the *Biographie Universelle*.

(4) Abû ’l-Hasan Ali Ibn Rahn at-Tabari, an able physician, belonged to a Jewish family and was a native of Tabaristân. Having been forced by the troubled state of his native country to take refuge in Rai, he had there Abû Bakr ar-Râzi for disciple. He then proceeded to Sarra-man-râa and composed his work entitled *Firdâs al-Hikma* (*garden of knowledge*). This production, though not voluminous, contains seventy discourses, which are subdivided into three hundred and sixty books. He had been secretary to Mâzyâr (v. III. p. 283), and afterwards made his profession of Islamism to the khalif al-Motasim. He then proceeded to the court (of Baghdad) and became one of al-Mutawakkil’s boon companions. The words *Rahn* (رهن), *Rabin*

(رَبِّين) and *ar-Rabb* (الرَّب) are names given by the Jews to the chief doctors of their law.—(*Tārikh al-Hukamā*, pp. 193, 160.)—*Rabn* is therefore the equivalent of *Rabbi*. There can be no doubt respecting the orthography of this word, as the author of the dictionary here cited, places *Rabn* after *Rizk Allah* and before the chapter of names beginning with Z. In some Arabic MSS. this word is erroneously written *Zain* (زَيْن).

(3) In the MSS. the word *Kāsh* is written كُوش or كُوس. Mirkhond and Abū 'I-Pedā write this name كُوشِين *Tekāpin* or *Jābin*. Ibn Khallikān may have perhaps written كُوشِين.

(6) Literally: For thy rendering licit falsehood لتَحْلِيلِكَ الْكَذِبِ.

### MUHAMMAD IBN MUSA IBN SHAKIR.

Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn Shākīr was one of the three brothers after whom the art of engineering was called the *contrivances of the sons of Māsa* (*hial bani Māsa*): Muhammad, Ahmad, and al-Hasan, these three brothers being celebrated for their talents in that line. Animated with the noble ambition of learning the sciences of the ancients and acquiring their books, they laboured to effect this object and sent persons to bring them books from the country of the Greeks (1). By the offer of ample rewards, they drew translators from distant countries, and they thus made known the marvels of science. Geometry, engineering, the movements (*of the heavenly bodies*) (2), music, and astrology were the principal subjects to which they turned their attention, but these were only a small number (*of their acquirements*). They composed on engineering an original and curious work, filled with the most extraordinary (*facts*); I met with a copy of it, in one volume, and found it to be an excellent and highly instructive production. A thing which they, the first in Islamic times, brought from theory into practice (3) (*was the measurement of the earth*); for, although astronomical observers in ancient times, anterior to the promulgation of Islamism, had executed the operation, yet no statement exists to prove that it had been attempted by any person of this religion, except by themselves (4). The *khulif* al-Māmūn had a strong predilection for the sciences of the ancients and a great desire of putting their exactness to the test: having read in their productions, that the circumference of the globe is twenty-four thou-

sand miles, or eight thousand parasangs, (three miles make a parasang,) and that, if one end of a cord were placed at any point on the surface of the earth and the cord passed round the earth till the two ends met, that cord would be twenty-four thousand miles long, he wished to prove the truth of this assertion and asked the sons of Mûsa what was their opinion. They replied that the fact was certain, and he then said: "I wish you to employ the means indicated by the ancients, so that we may see whether it be correct or not." On this, they inquired in what country a level plain could be found, and, being informed that the desert of Sinjâr was perfectly level, as also the country about Kûfa, they took with them a number of persons on whose veracity and skill in this art al-Mâmûn placed reliance, and set out for Sinjâr. On arriving in the plain just mentioned, they stopped at a spot where they took the altitude of the north pole by means of certain instruments, and drove a picket into the place where the observation was made. To this picket they fastened a long cord and walked directly towards the north, avoiding, as much as possible, any deviation to the right or to the left. When the cord was run out, they set up another picket, and tied to it a cord, after which they walked towards the north as before. They continued the same operation till they came to a place where they observed the altitude of the pole and found it to surpass by one degree the altitude observed at the first station. Having already obtained the length of the intermediate space by means of the cords, they found the distance to be sixty-six miles and two thirds. From this they learned that every degree of the zodiac (5) corresponded to a space of sixty-six miles and two thirds on the surface of the earth. They then returned to the place where they had driven in the first picket, and, having fastened a cord to this picket, they went directly towards the south, operating as they had previously done when going towards the north; that is, setting up pickets and fastening cords. When the cords employed in the operation directed towards the north were again run out, they took the altitude of the pole and found it one degree less than the altitude first observed. Their calculation was thus verified and (*the result of*) their undertaking confirmed. Persons acquainted with astronomy will understand this at the first glance. It is well known that the number of degrees in the zodiac is three hundred and sixty; for the zodiac is divided into twelve signs, and each sign into thirty degrees. There are therefore three hundred and sixty degrees in all,

and, if this sum be multiplied by sixty-six and two thirds, the number of miles in a degree, we obtain twenty-four thousand miles, or eight thousand parasangs (*for the circumference of the earth*). This is certain and indubitable. When the sons of Mûsa returned to al-Mâmûn and informed him of what they had done (*he perceived that the result*) corresponded with what he had read in the books of the ancients relative to the deductions of that people, and, wishing to verify the fact elsewhere, he sent them to the land of Kûfa, where they operated as they had done at Sinjâr. The two calculations agreeing, al-Mâmûn acknowledged the truth of what the ancients had written on that subject.—This is the passage to which I referred in the life of Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Yahya as-Sûli, where I said (*vol. III. p. 73*): *Were I not apprehensive of extending this article to too great a length, I should render this evident.*—The sons of Mûsa were the authors of various extraordinary inventions, some of which I should notice, did I not wish to avoid prolixity. Muhammad Ibn Mûsa died in the month of the first Râbi, A. H. 259 (January, A. D. 873).

(1) Or: *from Asta Minor* (Bilâd ar-Rûm).

(2) The term *harakât* is the equivalent of *harakât an-nujûm*.

(3) Literally: *from possibility into action*.

(4) The author has here made a long phrase and forgotten to finish it. I have supplied the ellipse.

(5) The author should have said: *of the meridian or of a great circle of the sphere*.

### IBN SINAN AL-BATTANI (*ALBATEGNIUS*).

Abû Abd Âllah Muhammad Ibn Jâbir Ibn Sinân, a native of Harrân and an inhabitant of ar-Rakka, surnamed al-Battâni, was a famous calculator and astronomer, and the author of *the astronomical work entitled the Sabeen Tables* (*az-Zij as-Sâbi*). He executed many curious (*astronomical*) operations and made correct observations. His observations were commenced in the year 264 (A. D. 877-8), and he continued them till the year 306 (A. D. 918-9). In the year 299 (A. D. 914-2), he drew up his table of the fixed stars. He was the paragon of

the age in the art which he cultivated, and his operations furnish a proof of his great talents and extensive information. He died in the year 317 (A. D. 929-30), at a place called Kasr al-Hadr (*the fortress of al-Hadr*), on his return from Baghdat. I know not if he professed the doctrines of Islamism; his name, however, indicates that he was a Moslim (1). He made two editions of his *Zij*, the second of which is better than the first. His other works are: the *Marifat Matdli 'l-Buruj* (*knowledge of the rising-places of the zodiacal signs*) in the interval between the quarters of the sphere (2); a treatise on the quantity of the conjunctions (*fi Mikdâr il-Ittisâlat*) (3), a treatise in which he explained the four quarters of the sphere; a treatise on the appreciation of the quantity of the conjunctions; an explanation of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* (4), etc.—*Battâni*, or, according to Abû Muhammad Hibat Allah Ibn al-Akfâni (5), *Bittâni*, means *belonging to Battân* or *Bittân*, a place in the province of Harrân.—*Al-Hadr* is an ancient city near Tikrit, and situated in the desert between the Tigris and the Euphrates (6). As-Sâtirûn (الساطرون), the lord of al-Hadr, was besieged by Ardashir Ibn Bâbek, the first (*Sasanide*) king of Persia, who took the city and put him to death. Alluding to this event, Hâritha Ibn Hajjâj, better known by the appellation of Abû Duwâd al-Iyâdi (7), said:

I see that death has descended from al-Hadr upon the lord of its people, as-Sâtirûn. The vicissitudes of time have overthrown him, after his possessing a kingdom, prosperity, and pearls hidden (*from sight*).

\* Some attribute these verses to Hanzala Ibn Sharki. Adî Ibn Zaid al-Idâdi (8) also mentions this place in the following verse:

And the brother of al-Hadr, when he built that place, and when the Tigris and al-Khâbûr (9) paid him tribute.

The name of al-Hadr frequently occurs in poems. According to a statement repeated by Ibn Hishâm (*vol. II. p. 428*) in his *Sira tar-Rasûl*, it was Sâpûr Zû 'l-Aktâf who besieged al-Hadr; but this is an error.—*Sâtirûn* is a Syrian word signifying *king*; the real name of as-Sâtirûn was *Daizan* (دايزن) Ibn Moawia. *Daizan* was an idol adored in the times of ignorance (*anterior to the promulgation of Islamism*), and its name was given to different men. As-Sâtirûn belonged to the tribe of Kudâa and was one of the provincial kings (*p. 74 of this vol.*) When

these princes met with the design of waging war against the other kings, they chose as-Sâtirûn for their chief on account of his power. Ardashir besieged him during four years without being able to subdue him. As-Sâtirûn had a daughter of extreme beauty called Nadira (نصيرق) the same of whom a poet said :

Al-Hadr, al-Mirbâa, and the bank of ath-Tharhâr (10) are deprived of the presence of Nadira.

The custom of the people there was, that, when a female had her periodical indisposition, they lodged her in the suburb. Nadira, being unwell, was lodged in the suburb of al-Hadr, and, looking out one day, she saw Ardashir, who was a very handsome man, and fell in love with him. She then sent to him, offering to open the fortress and admit him, provided he married her. Having made her conditions, (*she betrayed the city*) and Ardashir fulfilled his promise. *Authors* differ as to the means which she pointed out to Ardashir, so that he was enabled to take the fortress. At-Tabari says that she directed him to a talisman which was kept there: the people knew that he could not take the place till he found a grey pigeon, which, after its legs had been stained with the *menstrua* of a blue-eyed virgin, would alight, when let loose, on the wall of the fortress; the talisman would then fall and the fortress be taken. Ardashir did so, and devastated the fortress after giving it up to pillage, and exterminating the inhabitants. He then departed with Nadira, and married her. It happened afterwards that, one night, as she was unable to sleep and turned from side to side in the bed, Sâbûr (11) asked her what prevented her from sleeping? She replied: "I never yet, since the first moment of my existence, slept in a rougher bed than this; I feel something annoy me." Sâbûr ordered the bed to be changed, but she was unable to sleep, and the next morning she complained of her side. On examination, a myrtle leaf was found adhering to a fold of the skin, from which it had brought blood. Astonished at the circumstance, Sâbûr asked her if it was that which had kept her awake? She replied in the affirmative. "How then," said he, "did your father bring you up?"—"He spread me a bed of satin, and clothed me in silk, and fed me with marrow, and cream, and the honey of virgin bees, and he gave me pure wine to drink."—"The same return which you made your father for his kindness," replied Sâbûr, "would be made much more readily to me!" He then ordered her to be tied

by the hair to the tail of a horse, which galloped off with her and killed her. The ruins of al-Hadr are still in existence with the remains of various edifices, but, since that time, it has never been inhabited.—This is a long narration, and I insert it only on account of its singularity.—I read in another historical work, that al-Battāni went to Baghdad, whence he set out again and died on his way, at the fortress of al-Hadr, in the year already mentioned. Yākūt al-Hamawī says in his *Mushtarik*: “The fortress of al-Hadr is in the neighbourhood of Samarra, the city erected by al-Motasim.” God knows best!

(1) The ancestors of al-Battāni were Sabeans.

(2) In Arabic: *فيما بين ارباع الفلك*. This is perhaps a treatise on the mode of calculating the horizontal amplitude of the signs of the Zodiac for every latitude.

(3) This seems to be a treatise on the conjunctions and eclipses of the sun and moon.

(4) The Arabic title is *Arba Makalāt* (four discourses). This treatise on judicial astrology was first translated by Ibrahim Ibn as-Salt, whose translation was reviewed and corrected by Hunain Ibn Ishak.

(5) Ibn Khallikān speaks of al-Akfāni in vol. I. p. 232 of this work. According to the author of the *Najm*, he died A. H. 323 (A. D. 1129).

(6) In the *Memoirs of the Geographical Society*, vols. IX. and XI., will be found an account of the present state of al-Hadr. It was the capital of the celebrated az-Zabbā. See Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad hist. ar.* p. 2.

(7) Abou Douad *أبو ذؤاد*, dont le véritable nom était Hāritha, fils de Hadjadj *جدة بن الحجاج* issu d'Iyād fils de Nizār, était un poète du temps du paganisme. La plupart et les meilleures de ses poesies sont des descriptions de chevaux. Il est regardé comme un modèle en ce genre. Abou Douad étant chez Hārith, fils de Hemmām, l'un des chefs de la tribu de Cheibān, perdit un fils de maladie. Hārith, son hôte, lui paya le prix du sang de ce fils et lui dit que toutes les fois qu'il perdrait un enfant, un chameau ou un autre animal, il lui en payerait le prix. Suivant Abou Obreida, l'hôte et le protecteur d'Abou Douad qui lui tint ce langage était Ca'b fils de Māma l'Iyadite. D'autres racontent que trois fils d'Abou Douad ayant été assassinés par un certain Rakiya fils d'Amir *رقية بن عامر* de la tribu de Behrā, le roi Moundhir Ibn Ma Assema, a la cour duquel Abou Douad se trouvait alors, lui paya 200 chameaux pour le prix du sang de chacun de ses fils. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'expression de *حار ابى ذؤاد* est devenu proverbiale pour désigner un hôte et un protecteur généreux. Abou Douad qui était grand conaisseur en chevaux, fut chargé par le roi Moundhir Ibn Ma Assema du soin de ses haras.—A. Caussin de Perceval.)

(8) See vol. I. page 189, note (9).

(9) Al-Khābār, a river of Mesopotamia, falls into the Euphrates at al-Karkisiya.

(10) The river ath-Tharthār passes near al-Hadr and falls into the Tigris.

(11) The author meant to write *Ardashir*. He commits the same fault lower down



## ABU 'L-WAFĀ AL-BUZJĀNĪ.

Abū 'l-Wafā Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Ismail Ibn al-Abbās al-Buzjānī, the celebrated calculator, was one of the most distinguished masters in the science of geometry, and he deduced from it certain corollaries which had till then remained undiscovered. Our *shaiikh*, the very learned Kāmal ad-dīn Abū 'l-Fath Mūsa Ibn Yūnus (1), (may God be merciful to him!) was deeply skilled in that branch of knowledge and he highly extolled Abū 'l-Wafā's works, taking them as guides in most of his investigations and citing the author's words as a conclusive authority. He possessed a number of Abū 'l-Wafā's books. Abū 'l-Wafā composed a good and useful treatise on the manner of finding the length of the chords of arcs (*fi Istikhrāj al-Autār*) (2). He was born on Wednesday, the first of Ramadān, A.H. 328 (June, A.D. 940), at Būzjān, and he died A.H. 387 (A.D. 997) (3).—*Buzjān* is a small town of Khorāsān, between Herāt and Naisāpūr.—Abū 'l-Wafā visited Irāk in the year 348 (A.D. 959-60). I found the date of his birth, as given above, in the *Kitāb al-Fihrest*, by Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn an-Nadīm (*vol. I. p. 630*), but that writer does not mention the year of his death. I therefore left it in blank when drawing up this article, hoping to find it later; as it was my main object in this work, as I have already said in the preface, to mark the dates on which distinguished individuals died. I afterwards found the year of his death in the historical work of our *shaiikh* Ibn al-Athīr (*vol. II. p. 288*), and I inserted it here. Upwards of twenty years elapsed from the time in which I commenced this biographical work before I discovered the date of Abū 'l-Wafā's death.

(1) His life will be found in this volume.

(2) The *Bibliothèque du Roi* possesses an almagest attributed to Abū 'l-Wafā. In the *Tārīkh al-Hukamā* we find the following list of his works: the *Manāzil* (*stations*), a good arithmetical treatise; an explanation of al-Khawārezmī's treatise on algebra; an explanation of the work of Diophantus on algebra; an explanation of Ibn Yahya's work on algebra; the *Mudkhil*, or *introduction* to arithmetic; the *Kitāb al-Bārāhīn fi 'l-Kāddya fi ma stanālahu Diofantos fi kitabih* (*proofs of the rules employed by Diophantus in his work*), the *Kitāb Istikhrāj mablagh il-Kaab bi-mat mal wa ma yaturakkah minha* (*the obtaining of the amount*

of the cube by a double multiplication, and of the other combinations effected by that operation), an almagest, a treatise on the use of the sexagesimal table.

(3) Abū 'l-Wafā continued to reside in Baghdad till his death. He died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 388 (June-July, A. D. 998). (*Tārikh al-Hukamā*.)

## JAR ALLAH AZ-ZAMAKHSHARI.

Abū 'l-Kāsim Mahmuḍ Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar al-Khowārezmi az-Zamakhshari, the great master (*imām*) in the sciences of koranic interpretation, the Traditions, grammar, philology, and rhetoric, was incontrovertibly the first *imām* of the age in which he lived, and he attracted students from all quarters by his lessons in various branches of knowledge (1). He learned grammar from Abū Moḍar Mansūr. Az-Zamakhshari was the author of those admirable works, the *Kashshāf* (*revealer*), a production the like of which had never before appeared on the interpretation of the Koran, the *Muhājāt bi-al-Masā'il in-Nahwiya* (*questions on points of grammar*); the *al-Mufrad wa 'l-Murakkab* (*the simple and compound [expressions]*) in the Arabic language (2); the *Fāḍik* (*surpassing*), on the interpretation of the Traditions; the *Asās al-Balāgha* (*principles of eloquence*), a philological work; the *Rub' 'l-Abrār* (*the vernal season of the just*) (3); the *Fusūs al-Akḥbār* (*the signet-stones of histories*); (4); the *Mutashābih Asma 'r-Rawd'* (*names of historical traditionists which are liable to be confounded with others*); the *an-Nasāih al-Kibār* (*the great book of counsels*); the *an-Nasāih as-Sighār* (*the lesser book of counsels*); the *Dalla tan-Nāshid* (*the stray camel of the seeker*); the *ar-Rā'id fi Ilm al-Farā'id* (*the instructor in the science of inheritance-shares*); the *Mufassal* (*drawn up in sections, [fasl]*), a treatise on grammar, which has occupied numerous commentators (5); the *Anmāḍaj* (*specimen*), a treatise on grammar (6); the *al-Mufrad wa 'l-Murallaf* (*simple and compound terms*), a grammatical treatise; the *Ru'ūs al-Masā'il* (*leading questions*), on jurisprudence; an explanation of the verses cited in the grammar of Sibawaihi (*vol. II. p. 396*); the *Mustakṣi* (*profound investigator*), treating of the proverbs of the desert Arabs; the *Samīm al-Arabiya* (*the genius of the Arabic language*); the *Sawā'ir al-Amthāl* (*current proverbs*); the *Diwān at-Tamaththul* (*collection of similes*); the *Shakā'ik an-Nomān* (*anemonies, being a*

treatise on the merits of [Abū Hauifā] *an-Nomān*); the *Shāfi 'l-Iyī min Kalām as-Shāfi* (the remedy of hesitation in speech, taken from the sayings of *as-Shāfi*); the *Kistās* (balance), on prosody; the *Mojam al-Hudūd* (lexicon of definitions); the *Min-hāj* (highway), a treatise on the fundamentals (of theology); the *Mukaddama tal-Adīb* (introduction to philological sciences); a *diwān* of epistles; a *diwān* of poetry; the *ar-Risāla tan-Nāsiha* (epistle of good advice); *Amālī* (dictations) on various branches of science, etc. He commenced the composition of his *Mufasssal* on the first of Ramadān, A. H. 513 (December, A. D. 1119), and he finished it on the first of Muharram, A. H. 515 (March, A. D. 1121). Previously to this, he had travelled to Mekka and resided there for some time, whence he derived the title of *Jār Allah* (neighbour, or client of God), and he was designated by this appellation as by a proper name. I heard a certain *shaiikh* say that *az-Zamakhshari* had lost one of his feet, and that he walked with a crutch (7). He lost it in Khowārezm, where he happened to be travelling; having encountered on his way a heavy storm of snow joined to an intense frost, his foot fell off. He carried with him a certificate attested by a great number of persons who knew the fact to be true; this he did lest those who were not acquainted with the real nature of the accident which had befallen him, might suppose that his foot had been cut off in punishment of some crime. The snow and frost frequently affect the extremities of the body in those regions and cause them to fall off. This is particularly the case in Khowārezm, the cold being excessive in that country. I myself have seen numbers who lost the extremities of their body from that very cause; therefore the persons who have never witnessed such things should not consider them as improbable. I read in a historical work composed by a writer of later times, that, when *az-Zamakhshari* went to Baghdad, he had an interview with the Hanifite doctor *ad-Dāmaghāni* (8), who asked him how he lost his foot. To this question *az-Zamakhshari* replied: "Through an imprecation uttered by my mother: when a child, I caught a sparrow and tied a cord to its leg; it escaped, however, into a hole, and, in trying to draw it out, I pulled its foot off with the cord. My mother was so deeply grieved at this that she exclaimed: 'May God cut off the foot of that wretch (9) as he has cut off the foot of the sparrow!' When I reached the age at which students set out on their travels, I proceeded to Bokhāra in pursuit of knowledge, and broke my leg by a fall off the animal which I was riding. The results of this accident

“were so grave, that amputation became necessary.” Almighty God best knows which of these statements is true! Az-Zamakhshari publicly professed the doctrines of the Motazelites, and it is related that whenever he went to see any of his acquaintances, he used to have himself announced by the door-keeper as Abū ’l-Kāsim the Motazelite. When he first composed his *Kashshāf*, he commenced the introduction of it with these words: *Praise be unto God who hath created the Koran* (40), and on being told that, if he let the passage stand so, the public would reject his book and no one would wish to procure it, he altered the phrase thus: *Praise be unto God who hath placed (jʿala) the Koran*; the verb *to place* bearing, with them *the Motazelites*, the signification of *to create*. The examination of this point would lead us, however, too far. In a great number of copies I have read: *Praise be unto God who hath sent down (anzala) the Koran*, but this is a correction made by other persons, not by the author. The *hāfiz* Abū Tāhir Ahmad as-Silafi *vol. I. p. 86* addressed a letter from Alexandria to az-Zamakhshari, who was then making a devotional residence at Mekka, requesting from him a licence to teach his works and that information which he had gathered from az-Zamakhshari’s own lips. The latter returned an unsatisfactory reply, and, the following year, as-Silafi wrote to him by a pilgrim, renewing his application, and requesting a licence in the most pressing manner. Towards the conclusion of his letter, he said: “Let not *your reverence*, and may “God continue to favour you, place me under the necessity of renewing my “application: for the distance is great, and already, last year, you answered “in a manner which did not satisfy my wishes. In acceding to my request, “you will lay me under deep obligations (41).” I shall here give a part of az-Zamakhshari’s reply, and were I not unwilling to lengthen this article, I would give both the request and the answer: “I, amongst the illustrious learned, am like a dim star amongst the luminaries of the heavens; like a cloud devoid of water compared with the clouds of morning which cover the plains and the hills with their fertilizing showers; like the race-horse distanced by his competitors; like the kite among the nobler birds. To entitle a man *the very “learned (allāma)* is like placing the points on the *alāma* (42). Learning is a “city which none can enter but by knowledge acquired from books or oral “transmission: these are its two gates, and at either I should appear with a “very slight stock of acquirements, and (*in that place*) my shadow (*appearance*)

" would be even less than that of a pebble (*in the plain*). As for the knowledge  
 " I have acquired from oral transmission, I derive it from a low and shallow  
 " source (13), and it is unsupported by the authority of men versed in erudition  
 " or illustrious for talent : as for the knowledge I have acquired from books, it is  
 " a mere pool, not deep enough to reach the mouth ; a slight drop, insufficient  
 " to wet the lips." Further on he says, mentioning at the same time the  
 pieces of poetry composed in his praise by poets and men of talent ; pieces  
 which it is unnecessary to reproduce : " Let not the words of such a one or  
 " of such a one respecting me lead thee into delusion, for that proceeded  
 " from their being deceived by the varnished exterior (*of my reputation*) and  
 " from their ignorance of my foul interior ; and perhaps they might have been  
 " induced into error by the good services which they saw me render to the  
 " true believers, by my extreme condescension for those who sought instruc-  
 " tion, by my disinterested conduct towards them, by the kindness and the  
 " favours which I bestowed upon them, by my independent spirit which scorned  
 " worldly cares, by my attending to my own concerns and avoiding to meddle  
 " in those of others. I may have thus appeared a great man in their eyes, and  
 " they, being mistaken as to my real worth, attributed to me (*virtues*) which I  
 " had not the slightest right to claim. In saying this, I do not mean to depre-  
 " ciate my real merit and act according to the saying of al-Hasan al-Basri  
 " (*vol. I. p. 370*) who observed, in allusion to Abû Bakr's addressing (*the Mos-*  
 " *lims*) in these words : *I have become your chief, but I am not the best of you* (14),  
 " that it was the duty of the true believer to depreciate his own merits. This  
 " is by no means my case ; I only tell the truth to one who inquires into my  
 " character and my acquirements in oral and written learning, who desires to  
 " know the masters whom I met and under whom I studied, and to appreciate  
 " the extent of my learning and the limits of my talent. I have therefore ac-  
 " quainted him with my real character, communicated to him the secret which  
 " I kept concealed, displayed to him all my hidden defects, and told him of my  
 " origin and rise (15). The place of my birth is an obscure village in Khowâ-  
 " rezm, called Zamakhshar ; and I heard my father, to whom God be merciful !  
 " say : ' An Arab of the desert who happened to pass by, asked the name of this  
 " " place and of its chief man ; having received for answer, *Zamakhshar* and  
 " " *ar-Ridd*, he observed that there was no good either in *shar* (*evil*) or *radd*

“(repulse), and would not go near it. I was born in the month of Rajab, 467. To God all praise is due; may the divine blessing be on Muhammad, his family, and his companions (16)! ”—Such was the termination of this certificate of licence in which az-Zamakhshari made a long expatiation without returning a positive answer to as-Silafi’s request (17). I do not know whether he gave him a licence at a later period. In traditional information, one person only intervened between me and az-Zamakhshari: he had given a licence to Zainab, the daughter of as-Shâri, and I received one from her, as I have already mentioned (*vol. I. p. 551*). Amongst the verses of az-Zamakhshari which are in general circulation, we may notice the following: speaking of them, as-Samâni (*vol. II. p. 456*), who mentions the author in his *Supplement*, says: “The following lines were dictated to me from memory, at Samarkand, by Ahmad Ibn Mahmûd al-Khowârezmî, who stated that they had been recited to him at Khowârezm by az-Zamakhshari as his own:”

Tell Soda that we want her not; and that she need not borrow (18) the large eyes of the gazelles (*to tempt us still*). For we now bound our desires to one whose eyes are narrow, and God will reward those who bound their desires. She (*whom I love*) is fair (19) and scornful; but I have never yet found, in this world, pure enjoyment, unmixed with pain. Never shall I forget the time when I courted her near the meadow, on the bank of the lake which received the waterfall: “Bring me a rose,” said I, meaning the rose of her cheeks; but she understood me not and answered: “Wait for me; in the twinkling of an eye I will bring it.”—“Nay,” I replied, “I cannot wait.”—“There is no rose here,” said she, “except these cheeks.”—“’Tis well,” said I, “what you have there will do.”

In an elegy on the death of Abû Modar Mansûr, the (*grammarian*) above-mentioned, he said:

She said: “What pearls (*tears*) are those which fall in two lines from your eyes?” I replied: “These are the pearls (*no rims*) with which Abû Modar filled my ears and which now fall from my eyes.”

This is similar to the following, by the *kadi* Abû Bakr al-Arrajâni (*vol. I. p. 134*): as they were contemporaries, I am unable to say which of them borrowed the thought from the other:

I wept, only on hearing the news of their departure whispered to me by one who bade me adieu. Those (*tears*) are the pearls which they deposited in my ears, and which I now pour forth from my eyes.

These verses are taken from a long and brilliant *kasîda*. The following piece, attributed to al-Kâdî 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p. 111*), contains a similar idea :

Bestow not on me a second glance; the first sufficed to repay my love. I have words of yours treasured in my heart; never shall I deny the treasure which love confided to my care. Receive now in drops from my eyes those treasures which you deposited in my ears.

Amongst the passages by other poets which he cited in the *Kashshaf*, he introduces the following, in his commentary on these words of the *shîrat* of the Cow: *God is not ashamed to propose any parable whatsoever; a gnat, or an object surpassing it (in littleness):* (20):

O thou who seest the gnat spread its wings in the darkness of the gloomy night, who observest the veins in its neck and the marrow in those slender bones,—pardon a servant who hath repented of the faults committed in his youth.

A man of talent who recited these lines to me in Aleppo, told me that az-Zamakhshari had given directions that they should be inscribed on his own tomb. The same person then recited to me the verses which follow, and informed me that the author designed them for his own epitaph :

Almighty God! here, in the bosom of the earth, I have become thy guest; and the rights of the guest are acknowledged by every generous host. As a gift of hospitality bestow on me the pardon of my sins; the gift is great, but great is thy hospitality.

A friend of mine mentioned to me that he found the following lines inscribed, at Sawâkin, on the tomb of Aziz ad-Dawlat Rihân, the prince of that island :

Know, O men! that death withheld me from obtaining the object of my hopes. Let that man who hath the power of working (*out his salvation*), before the arrival of death, fear the Lord. I am not the only person brought to this state; all shall be brought to the same state as mine.

Az-Zamakhshari was born on Wednesday, the 27th of Rajab, A. H. 467 (March, A. D. 1075), at Zamakhshar, and he died on the 9th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 538 (June, A. D. 1144), at Jurjâniya, in Khowârezm, subsequently to his return from Mekka. An elegy composed on his death contained the following line :

The land of Mekka drops tears from its eyes through grief for the departure of Jār Allah Mahmūd.

*Zamakhsar* is a large village in Khowārezm. *Jurjāniya* is the capital of Khowārezm; Yākūt al-Hamawi says, in his *Kutb al-Buldān*: "This city is called *Korkānj* in the language of the inhabitants, but this name has been arabicized into Jurjāniya. It is situated on the bank of the Jāihūn 'Oxus'."

(1) Literally: And the saddle-bags were tied (*on to go*) unto him on account of his branches (*of science*).

(2) This is a very vague title; it may signify: 1st, the simple and compound propositions; 2dly, the simple and compound numerals (see de Sacy's grammar, 2nd ed. tom. I. p. 417; 3dly, the simple and compound proper names.

(3) Some copies of this work are in the *Bib. du Roi*. It is a large collection of anecdotes, classed according to their subjects.

(4) Probably historical facts which leave a lasting impression on the mind.

(5) I have discovered two copies of this excellent grammatical treatise in the *Bib. du Roi*.

(6) M. de Sacy has given an extract from the *Anmūdaj* in his *Anthologie grammaticale*.

(7) Or perhaps: With a wooden leg. The word جاولي has been already rendered by *crutch*, in the first volume of this work, page 347, but it does not occur in our dictionaries.

(8) Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ad-Dāmaghāni a juriconsult of the Hanifite sect, acted for some time as *kādi* of al-Karakh (*the suburb of Baghdad*). Having resigned his office, he cast aside the *tailāsūn*, or doctor's hood, and entered into the service of the Khalif as chamberlain (*hājib*). He was of a noble and generous character, and an able statesman. He died A. H. 318 (A. D. 1124-5).—(*Nujūm*.)

(9) The word اللعنة, the superlative of لعن, is frequently employed with the sense of *accursed wretch*. The expression أقطع رأسه (*uqta' rasu 'l-baid*, cut off his accursed head) must be familiar to those who have visited the Barbary States.

(10) According to the orthodox Moslim doctrine, the Koran is the uncreated word of God.

(11) Literally: and to him (*you*) in return for that (*may there be*) an ample recompense.

(12) To understand this, it must be recollected that certain official papers must receive the sultan's *aldma* before they can be considered valid. The *aldma* consists in a short phrase or motto written in large characters on the document. As each prince has a particular *aldma* which he never changes, every person knows it familiarly and can read it at first sight, even though the diacritical points, so essential in Arabic writing, be omitted, as is usually the case. Az-Zamakhsari here means to say that *alldma* (*the very learned*) is as vain an addition to a man's name as the points are to an *aldma*; if the man be really learned, every one knows it, and the title is needless.—As-Silafi had evidently styled him *the very learned* in the address of the letter, and this title az-Zamakhsari, with affected modesty, disclaims.

(13) Literally: it is recent in origin and inferior in authority.

(14) See Abū Bakr's address to the Mostlins in Kosegarten's *Tabari*, pars I. p. 21.

(15) Literally: *of my seed and of my tree*.

(16) M. Hamaker has given the text of Ibn Khallikān's notice on az-Zamakhsari, with a Latin translation and learned notes, in his *Specimen Catalogi MSS. Lugd. Bat.* In some cases he appears to me to have adopted false readings, and the manner in which he has rendered this letter is by no means satisfactory.



(17) Ibn Khallikān should have informed us what impression this singular letter left on as-Silafi's mind. Az-Zamakhshari, in a tone of the deepest modesty, affects to disclaim every title to learning and renown, whilst he very adroitly enumerates his own good qualities and cites all the poems composed in his honour. I suspect that this ironical production imposed equally upon the simplicity of as-Silafi and of our author.

(18) The true reading is *نظمين*.

(19) Here all the pronouns and adjectives which refer to the beloved are in the masculine gender.

(20) Koran, sūrat 2, verse 24.

### ABU TALIB AL-KADI 'L-ISPAHANI.

Abū Tālib Mahmūd Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tālib Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'r-Rajā at-Tamimi al-Ispahāni (*a member of the tribe of Tamīm and a native of Ispahān*), generally known by the appellation of al-Kādi and the author of a system of controversy (*vol. I. p. 237*), studied jurisprudence under Muhammad Ibn Yahya the martyr (*vol. II. p. 628*). He excelled in controversy and composed on that art a *taalika* (1) which attested his eminent talent, his skill in the investigation of truth, and his superiority over nearly all his rivals. This work, in which he combined (*the principles of*) jurisprudence with (*their*) demonstration, became the text book of professors in their lessons on controversy, and those who did not refer to it were only prevented from doing so by the inability of their mind to seize on its subtle reasonings. Great numbers studied with profit under his tuition, and he obtained the reputation of being a most able doctor. He possessed the highest abilities as a preacher and was versed in many sciences. He taught for some time at Ispahān, and died in the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 585 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1189).

(1) See vol. II. p. 28.

## MAHMUD IBN SUBUKTIKIN.

Abū 'l-Kâsim Mahmūd, the son of Nâsir ad-Dawlat Abū Mansûr Subuktikin, bore, at first, the surname of Saif ad-Dawlat (*sword of the empire*), but, on being nominated to the sultanate, after the death of his father, by the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Kâdir billah, he received from him the titles of Yamin ad-Dawlat (*right hand of the empire*) and Amin al-Milla (*the trusty friend of the faith*). It was by these appellations that he continued to be known. His father Subuktikin arrived at Bukhâra in the reign of Nûh Ibn Mansûr, one of those Samanide kings of whom we have spoken in the life of Abū Bakr Muhammad ar-Râzi the physician (*vol. III. p. 319*), to which city he had accompanied Abū Ishak Albtikin (1), in the quality of grand chamberlain. As he was the main director of all Albtikin's affairs, his intelligence and decision of character led the great officers of the empire to prognosticate his future elevation. When Abū Ishak went to replace his father as governor of Ghazna, the emir Subuktikin accompanied him as commander of his troops and grand chamberlain. Abū Ishak died soon after his arrival, and as none of his relations were capable of replacing him, the people felt the necessity of choosing a ruler. After some debates, they agreed to confer the command on Subuktikin, and, having engaged their fealty towards him, they acknowledged his authority. When his power was solidly established, he began to make hostile inroads on the frontiers of India, and he took a great number of fortresses in that country. Numerous combats, too long to relate, were fought between him and the Hindoos, and a short period sufficed to increase the extent of his empire, form a mighty army, replenish his coffers, and fill every soul with the terror of his name. One of his conquests was the territory of Bust, and amongst the prisoners who then fell into his power was Abū 'l-Fath Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Busti, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II. p. 314*), and who was then secretary to Bâi Tûz (2), the king of that country. Al-Busti entered into the service of Subuktikin and became his prime minister and confident; but the history of these events would lead us too far. The emir Subuktikin at length fell sick at Balkh, to which city he had proceeded from Tûs, and, feeling a longing desire of again seeing Ghazna, he set out for that place,

ill as he was, and died on the way, in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 387 (Aug.-Sept. A. D. 997). His body was placed in a coffin and carried to Ghazna. A number of contemporary poets composed elegies on his death, and the following lines were pronounced on the same subject by his *kâtib* Abû 'l-Fath al-Bustî :

On the death of Nâsir ad-dîn wa 'd-Dawlat (*the champion of religion and of the state*), I said : " May the Lord receive him with honour ! The empire which he founded threatens ruin ; it is thus, thus, that the day of judgment will arrive ! "

Some time after his death, a man of talent passed by the palace, and perceiving it much dilapidated, he pronounced these lines :

On thee, solitary dwelling ! may God bestow his benediction ! thou hast unconsciously awakened in my bosom feelings of love long dormant. A month ago, I saw thee quite new ; alas ! I did not think that the vicissitudes of time could ruin these abodes within a month !

The emir Subuktikin nominated for successor his son Ismail and recommended to his protection his other sons and the rest of his family. The grand chamberlains and the principal generals of the army having embraced the cause of the new monarch and acknowledged his authority, he took his seat on the throne of the sultanate, issued his mandates and examined the state of the public treasury. Whilst Ismail was thus exercising his power at Ghazna, his brother, the sultan Mahmûd, wrote to him from Balkh in Khorâsân, on receiving intelligence of his father's death. In this document, which was drawn up in a very conciliatory style, he said : " My father appointed you his successor " and preferred you to myself, because I did not happen to be near him when " he died ; had I been there, he would not have been able to accomplish his " designs. It is therefore our interest to share in his wealth as an inheritance " and that you remain at Ghazna, where you are, whilst I govern Khorâsân. " In this agreement we shall find our mutual advantage and frustrate the hopes " of our enemies. On the contrary, if the public discover that dissensions " have arisen between us, we shall incur the risk of losing our kingdom." Ismail refused acceding to this proposal, and, being of a weak and easy temper, he yielded to the turbulence of the soldiery and emptied his treasuries to satisfy their exorbitant demands. Mahmûd then set out for Herât and wrote again to

his brother, but his efforts only served to augment Ismail's false security. Having succeeded in obtaining the support of his uncle Beghrâjuk and of his brother Abû 'l-Muzaffar Nasr Ibn Subuktikin, who was then governing the province of Bust and who hastened to obey his orders and follow him, he felt that with these allies he could boldly undertake to attack his brother Ismail in Ghazna. Having laid siege to the city at the head of an immense army, he carried it after a severe conflict. Ismail, forced to take refuge in the citadel, appealed to the clemency of his brother Mahmûd, and, having obtained his pardon, he surrendered at discretion and delivered up the keys of his treasures. The sultan Mahmûd then proceeded to Balkh after leaving some experienced officers as his lieutenants at Ghazna. Subsequently to this conquest, he had a friendly interview with his brother Ismail, and said to him: "What would you have done to me, had I fallen into your power?" The captive prince being then excited by wine, good-naturedly replied: "I should have sent you to a castle and provided you abundantly with whatever you required; with a dwelling, pages, female slaves, and sufficient means for your support." Mahmûd immediately resolved on treating him in the same manner; and, having sent him off to a fortress, he ordered the governor to furnish the prisoner with whatever he desired. When the sultan Mahmûd had fully established his authority, he encountered in battle and defeated some of the lieutenants whom the Samanide sultan of Transoxiana had established in different parts of Khorâsân. The province of Khowârezm was thus detached from the Samanide empire in the year 389 (A. D. 999), and passed under the domination of Mahmûd. His power being now consolidated, the *imâm* (*khalîf*) al-Kâdir billah sent him the imperial robe and conferred on him the titles mentioned in the commencement of this article. Seated on the throne of the empire with the emirs of Khorâsân drawn up in a double line before him to pay him homage and testify their respect, Mahmûd authorised them to sit down after having given public audience. He then engaged with them in friendly conversation and bestowed on each of them and on his pages, the officers of his court, his favorites and his servants, an incredible quantity of pelisses and valuable presents. All the authority having passed into his hands, and the provinces of the empire being completely united under his sway, he imposed on himself the duty of making every year an expedition into India. In the year 393 (A. D. 1002-3), he obtained possession of

Sijistân, without striking a blow; the generals and governors who commanded there having consented to acknowledge his authority. He still continued to pursue his conquests in India, and he carried his arms into regions which the banner of Islamism had never yet reached, and where no *sûrat* nor verse of the Koran had ever been chanted before. Having purified that country from the filth of polytheism, he built in it numerous mosques and places of prayer; but the history of these proceedings would lead us too far. On achieving the conquest of India, he wrote to the court (*ad-Diwân al-Azîz*) of Baghdad a letter in which he enumerated the cities of that country which God had subdued by means of his arms, and mentioned that he had broken the idol called Sûmenât: "According to the Hindoos," said he, "this idol giveth life, inflicteth death, worketh what it willeth, and decideth what it pleaseth: if it feel inclined, it cureth every malady, and it sometimes happens, to their eternal misery, that sick pilgrims on visiting it are cured by the goodness of the air and by exercise; this increaseth their delusion, and crowds come to it on foot and on horseback from distant countries: if they obtain not the healing of their maladies, they attribute it to their sins, and say: 'He that does not serve him faithfully, meriteth not from him an answer.' They believe in transmigration, and pretend that the souls, on quitting the bodies, assemble near this idol, and are born again in whatever bodies it pleaseth. They believe also that the ebb and flow of the sea are the signs by which that element is enabled to testify its adoration. In consequence of these opinions, they go in pilgrimage to it from distant countries and *from every deep valley* (3); they offer it presents of the highest value, and there is not in the countries of India and Sind, even in the farthest borders and in those regions where a different religion is professed, a king or a subject who hath not offered to this idol the most precious portion of his wealth: hence, the *wakfs* (4) settled on it consist of ten thousand well-known villages of those countries, and its treasury is filled with all kinds of riches. It is served by one thousand bramins; three hundred barbers are there to shave the heads and beards of the pilgrims on their arrival; three hundred youths and five hundred females sing and dance at its gate, and each individual of these classes receives a fixed sum out of the *wakfs* settled on the idol." The Moslim army was separated from the fortress containing this false divinity by a desert of thirty days' journey, notorious for want of water and the diffi-

culty of its roads, which are always covered by the sands. The sultan Mahmūd having selected thirty thousand horsemen out of his numerous army and spent immense sums on their equipment, marched with them against the fortress, which they found to be strongly fortified. After a siege of three days, they carried it and entered into the house of the idol. Around its throne, they remarked a great number of other idols, some of them in gold and others ornamented with every variety of precious stones. These, the Hindoos pretended to be the angels. The Moslims burned the idol, and found in its ears upwards of thirty rings. Mahmūd asked the people the meaning of those rings, and was informed that each of them represented one thousand years of adoration; believing, as they did, in the eternity of the world, they pretended that their idol had been worshipped during more than thirty thousand years, and that a ring was placed in its ear at the expiration of each thousand years' worship. The details on this subject would lead us however too far. Our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athir (*vol. II. page 288*) states in his History, under the year 444, that a king of one of the fortresses in India made him (*Mahmūd*) a great number of presents, one of which was a bird in the form of a dove, the eyes of which watered when poisoned food was served at table. This water, on flowing out, changed into stone, which, when rubbed and applied to the widest wounds, healed them up. — The learned Abū Nasr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Jabbār al-Otbi composed on the life of Mahmūd a celebrated work, called *al-Yamīni* (5). Towards the commencement of this history he says (6): “He reigned over the East and its two extremities; over the bosom of the universe and its two arms, and that, for the purpose of raring the fourth climate, with the contiguous portions of the third and the fifth, under the rule of his empire;—of getting its ample kingdoms and extended states into the grasp of his possession;—of reducing its emirs and grandees with royal titles under his sway as tributaries;—of making them take refuge from the strokes of fortune under the shade of his empire and his government;—of humbling the monarchs of the earth before his might;—of filling them with the dread of his majesty;—of making them apprehend the suddenness of his attacks, though distant their abodes, and despite the intervention of mountains and valleys;—of forcing the Hindoos to hide in the bosom of the earth at the mention of his name, and of making them shudder before

"the blasts coming from his country;—for, from the time of his quitting the  
 "cradle and leaving the breast,—from the moment that speech undid the  
 "knot of his tongue and that he could express his thoughts without the aid  
 "of signs, he had occupied his tongue with prayer and with the Koran, en-  
 "flamed his soul with the love of the sword and the spear, extended his  
 "ambition towards the highest aims, and fixed his wishes on the governing  
 "of the universe. With his companions, his sports were serious, his toils  
 "incessant; grieving over that of which he had no knowledge till he knew  
 "it well, sad before difficulties till he smoothed them by main force (7)."—  
 The Imâm al-Haramain (*vol. II. p. 120*) mentions, in his work entitled *Mughith*  
*al-Khalk fi Ikhtiyâr il-Ahakk* (*assister of God's creatures in the selection of what is*  
*fittest*), that the sultan Mahmûd followed the rite of the imâm Abû Hanîfa, and,  
 being zealously devoted to the science of the Traditions, the *shaikhs* used to teach  
 them in his presence and explain to him their meaning when required. Per-  
 ceiving that the greater part of those sayings agreed (*in their prescriptions*) with the  
 doctrines of the imâm as-Shâfi (*v. II. p. 569*), he conceived doubts (*respecting the*  
*excellence of the rite which he professed*) and convoked in Marw a meeting of Shafite  
 and Hanefite jurisconsults for the purpose of obtaining their opinion on the rela-  
 tive superiority of these two systems. The jurisconsults agreed that a prayer of  
 two *rakas* should be said in the presence of the sultan, first according to the rite  
 of as-Shâfi and then according to the rite of Abû Hanîfa, so that he might exa-  
 mine and reflect, and choose that which was the better. These prayers were  
 said by al-Kassâl al-Marwazi (*vol. II. p. 26*), who commenced by a complete pu-  
 rification and the fulfilment of all the conditions requisite (*for the validity of the*  
*prayer*), such as the purification, the *sutra* (8), and the turning towards the *kibla*;  
 he then proceeded with the main points (*arkân*), the postures (*hiyât*), the conse-  
 crated usages (*sunan*), the acts prescribed by decorum (*âdâb*), and those imposed  
 as obligations (*farâid*), accomplishing them all fully and perfectly; this being  
 the only manner of prayer authorised by as-Shâfi. He then commenced a prayer  
 of two *rakas* according to the system of Abû Hanîfa, and, having clothed him-  
 self in the curried skin of a dog (9), and daubed one fourth of his body with  
 an impure matter (10), he made an ablution with date wine (11), (being in the  
 heart of summer and in the desert, he was soon surrounded by flies and gnats;) this  
 ablution being performed in the contrary way (12), he turned towards the

*kibla* and began the prayer without having manifested the intention of doing so whilst making the purification (13); he then pronounced the *takbîr* in Persian, after which he read this verse of the Koran in Persian: *du beryek sebz* (14) and stooped his head to the ground twice, like a cock picking up corn (15), without leaving any interval between these motions and without making the prostration; he next pronounced the profession of faith (*tashahhud*) and finished by breaking wind backwards (16), without even marking the intention of pronouncing the salutation. "Such," said he, "O sultan! is Abû Hanifa's mode of prayer." The prince replied: "If it be not so, I shall put you to death, for no religious man would authorise such a prayer." The Hanifite doctors denied it to be their master's, on which al-Kassâl ordered Abû Hanifa's books to be brought in, and the sultan directed a Christian scribe to read aloud the system of each *imâm*. It was then found that the mode of prayer as represented by al-Kassâl was really authorised by Abû Hanifa; and the sultan abandoned the Hanifite rite for that of as-Shâfi. So far the Imâm al-Haramain.—The sultan Mahmûd was distinguished for his meritorious acts and the virtue of his conduct. His birth took place on the 9th of Muharram, A. H. 361 (November, A. D. 971), and he died in the month of the second Rabi' or on the 11th of Safar, A. H. 422 (April, A. D. 1031), at Ghazna. Some place his death in the year 421. His son Muhammad, whom he had designated for successor, then mounted the throne, and united in his favour the vows of all classes by a prodigal distribution of donations. When he had established his power, he received a letter from his brother Abû Said Masûd, who happened to be absent when their father died and had then set out from Naisâpûr. The courage of Masûd and his highly dignified bearing gained him the hearts of the people, and, as he pretended that the *imâm* al-Kâdir billah had invested him with the government of Khorâsân and conferred on him the title of an-Nâsir li-din illah (*the champion of God's religion*) with the pelisse, the collar, and the bracelets, he succeeded in forming a strong party, whilst his brother neglected the administration of the state and plunged into a life of pleasure. The troops having at length resolved on dethroning him and transferring the supreme authority to Masûd, they arrested Muhammad and imprisoned him in a fortress. The emir Masûd, having thus obtained possession of the kingdom, had numerous encounters, too long to relate, with the Seljûkides. In the life of al-Motamid



Ibn Abbâd we have related the dream concerning Masûd (17), and to that article we refer the reader. He was slain in the year 430 (A. D. 1038-9) (18), and his empire fell into the possession of the Seljûkides. Of these events we have already given a sketch in the life of Toghrul Bek, the Seljûkide (*vol. III. page 229*), and related Masûd's conduct towards them, with the manner in which they conquered the empire.—The words *du bergek sebz* signify *two* [small] *green leaves*, and this is the meaning of the word *mudhâmmatâni* which occurs in the Koran (19).

(1) Who was general of the armies of Khorâsân, according to the historian al-Otbi, in his *Yamini*.

(2) Or *Pai Tâz* according to the MS. of al-Otbi, fonds Ducaurroi.

(3) Koran, sûrat 22, verse 28.

(4) See *vol. I. p. 49*.

(5) The *Bib. du Roi* possesses two ancient and excellent MSS. of the *Yamini*. It is with shreds and scraps of this work that Ibn Khallikân has composed the greater part of the present article.

(6) See MS. fonds Asselin, fol. 3 verso.

(7) This is not an unfair specimen of al-Otbi's inflated style. The whole book is written in the same strain.

(8) The *sutra* means any thing put up before one engaged in prayer to prevent others from intruding on his devotions; it may be a stone, a pillow, a spear, a sabre, a lamp, etc.

(9) According to the Hanifite doctrine, the tanned skin of every animal, except the hog, is pure.—(See d'Oshson's *Tab. gén. de l'Emp. Oth.* tom. II. p. 32.)

(10) The excrements of every animal not fit for food invalidate the prayer, if they cover more than one fourth of the body, or of the dress, or of the oratory.—(Hanifite doctrine, in d'Oshson, t. II. p. 9.)

(11) The expressed juice of every plant and fruit is impure, except the juice of the date (*nabid*), says Abû Hanîfa. This decision is founded on a tradition set forth in the *Mishkât al-Masûbîh*, translation of Matthews, *vol. I. page 108*.

(12) The regular mode of making the ablution will be found in d'Oshson, tom. II. p. 14.

(13) See on the *niya* or *intention* what d'Oshson says in his *Tab. gén.* t. II. p. 75.

(14) These words mean *two green leaves*. They are a very inadequate translation of the word *مدهامتان*, which alone forms the 64th verse of the 33th sûrat of the Koran. The final *k* of *bergek* I suppose to be the sign of the diminutive. In the Hanifite law-books, it is laid down that at least three verses of the Koran should be recited during the prayer. Perhaps Abû Hanîfa may have said that three words of it sufficed. The Shâfites do not admit the validity of the prayer in which the passages of the Koran are pronounced in any other language than Arabic.

(15) This is however condemned by Muhammad (see Matthews' *Mishkât*, *vol. I. p. 186*) and by the Hanifites themselves (see d'Oshson, t. II. p. 89).

(16) Had the prayer not been already finished, this alone would have rendered it invalid.—In the *Nazm al-Jumân*, a treatise on the Hanifite sect by Ibn Dakmâk, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 741, fol. 136, will be found a refutation of this anecdote. The author attributes to the Shâfites the ridiculous form of prayer which

gave such scandal to the sultan, who, says he, was induced by their unfair conduct to become a Hanafite. He mentions there that Yamlū' ad-Dawlat composed a treatise on Hanafite jurisprudence, entitled *Kitāb al-Tafrīd*, a work which bears a high reputation in Ghazna, India, and Sind. Ibn Dakmāk's refutation does not appear to me conclusive. The MS. in question is written in the hand of the author.

(17) This anecdote is not to be found in any of our MSS.

(18) In 432, according to Abū 'l-Fedā.

(19) *Muthdmmatāni* signifies two gardens of a dark green colour.

## MAHMUD THE SELJUKIDE.

Abū 'l-Kāsim Mahmūd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malak Shāh Ibn Alp Arslān as-Saljūki, surnamed Mughith ad-dīn (*assister of religion*), was one of the most illustrious monarchs of the Seljūk dynasty. We have already spoken of his father (p. 236 of this vol.) and some of his relatives, and, in the sequel, we shall notice his grandfather and other members of the same family. In the life of al-Aziz (*Azīz ad-dīn*) Abū Nasr Ahmad Ibn Hāmid al-Ispahāni (vol. I. p. 470), the uncle of the *kātib* Imād ad-dīn (vol. III. p. 306), we have indicated some circumstances of his history. Abū 'l-Kāsim Mahmūd obtained the sultanate on the death of his father, and, on Friday, the 23rd of Muharram, A. H. 512 (May, A. D. 1118), in the khalifate of al-Mustazhir billah, prayers were offered up for him in the city of Baghdad, according to the custom of that court in its proceedings with the Seljūk monarchs. He was then at the age of puberty, full of liveliness and intelligence, and well versed in Arabic; he knew by heart a great quantity of poetry and proverbs; in history and biography he displayed considerable acquirements and he manifested a strong predilection for men of learning and virtue. The poet Hais-Bais (vol. I. p. 559) went from Irāk for the purpose of seeing him, and celebrated his praises in the well-known *kasīda* rhyming in *d*, which begins thus:

Unsaddle the camels, now emaciated and submissive to the rein, and let them feed; long has been thy nocturnal march, and the deserts complain under the heavy tread of thy caravan. O you who travel by night! fear no longer sterility or danger; (*here*) the shrubs are tender and the sultan is Mahmūd. By the awe which he inspires, extremes are united; and, in the narrow path leading to the fountain, the sheep and the wolf walk together.

For this long and brilliant poem he received from the sultan an ample recompense. Mahmûd married successively the two daughters of his uncle, the sultan Sinjar (*vol. I. p. 600*), as we have already mentioned in the life of al-Aziz al-Ispahâni. Towards the end of his reign, the empire was much enfeebled and its revenues were so greatly reduced that, one day, being unable to furnish the necessary funds to the brewer, he ordered some of the (*empty*) treasure-chests to be given him, that he might sell them and purchase what he required. A short time before his death, Mahmûd went to Baghdad, and on his return, he fell sick on the way. His malady having increased in violence, he died on Thursday, the 15th of Shawwâl, A. H. 525 (September, A. D. 1131). Ibn al-Azrak al-Fârîki (*vol. III. p. 364*) states, in his History, that he died on the 15th of Shawwâl, A. H. 524, at the gate of Ispahân. He was buried in that city and had for successor his brother Toghrul Bek. This prince died A. H. 527, and his brother Masûd succeeded to the throne. We shall give his life. Muhammad Shâh, the son of Mahmûd Ibn Muhammad, was the same who besieged Baghdad with Zain ad-din Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Raktikin, the prince of Arbela, in the year 552 (A. D. 1157), or 553, according to the statement made by our *shaiikh* Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p. 288*), in his lesser historical work, entitled *al-Atâbeki* (1). Muhammad Shâh died in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 554 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1159-60). We have marked the date of Zain ad-din's death in our article on his son Muzaffar ad-din, prince of Arbela (*vol. II. p. 535*). Muhammad Shâh died outside the walls of Hamadân; he was born in the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 522 (April, A. D. 1128).

1) This is a history of the Atâbeks of Mosul.

### AL-MALIK AL-AADIL NUR AD-DIN.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd, surnamed al-Malik al-Aâdil (*the just prince*) Nûr ad-din (*light of religion*), was the son of Imâd ad-din Zinki (*vol. I. p. 539*), the son of ak-Sunkur (*vol. I. p. 225*). On the death of his father at the siege of Kalat

Jaabar, he was serving under his orders, and Salâh ad-din Muhammad Ibn Aiyûb al-Yaghîsânî, having then passed into his service, he marched with the Syrian army to Aleppo and occupied that city the same year, whilst his brother Saif ad-din Ghâzi (*vol. II. page 140*) took possession of the city and province of Mosul. On the third of Safar, A. H. 549 (April, A. D. 1154), Nûr ad-din laid siege to Damascus, which was then under the rule of Mujir ad-din Abû Said Abek, the son of Jamâl ad-din Muhammad, the son of Tâj al-Mulûk Bûri, the son of Zahir ad-din Toghtikin, the *atâbek* of the prince Dukâk (1), the son of Tutush, and on Sunday, the 9th of the same month, he occupied the city and gave Emessa to Mujir ad-din Abek in exchange. He subsequently deprived Abek of Emessa and bestowed on him the town of Bâlis. Abek removed thither, and after residing there for some time, he proceeded to Baghdad, in the reign of the *imam* al-Muktafi (*li-amr illah*), and obtained from that khalif a pension for his support. The *atâbek* Muin ad-din (*Auer*) Ibn Abd Allah was an enfranchised slave of Toghtikin, Abek's great-grandfather. Nûr ad-din then subdued the other cities of Syria, such as Hamât and Baalbek, of which he re-edified the walls, and he occupied the the places intervening between those two capitals and Manbej. He took also a number of fortresses on the frontiers of Asia Minor, such as Marash and Bahasna, the former in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 568 (June-July, A. D. 1173), and the latter in Zû 'l-Hijja of the same year (July-Aug.). Towards the end of the month of Ramadân, A. H. 559 (August, A. D. 1164), he reduced Hârim, in the country (*under the domination*) of the Franks and took besides upwards of fifty fortresses, amongst which were Azâz and Bâniâs. He then sent Asad ad-din Shirkûh (*vol. I. p. 626*) three times into Egypt, and in the third, the sultan Salâh ad-din was established as lieutenant in that country, and had Nûr ad-din's name struck on the coinage and pronounced in the public prayer (*khotba*). Of this event, we need not enter into further particulars, as we give a fuller account of it in our notice on the sultan Salâh ad-din. Nûr ad-din was a just monarch, pious and devout, a strict observer of the law, partial to virtuous men, a firm champion in the cause of God, and indefatigable in works of charity. He built colleges in all the great cities of Syria, such as Damascus, Aleppo, Hamât, Emessa, Baalbek, Manbej, and ar-Rahaba, as we have already stated in the life of Sharaf ad-din Ibn Abi Ushrûn (*vol. II. p. 33*): in Mosul he erected

the mosque (*called, after him*), al-Jâmi an-Nûri; in Hamât, another, the same which stands on the bank of the Orontes; in Edessa, another; in Manbej, another; and in Damascus, an hospital and a Tradition school (*dâr al-Hadîth*). His merits, monuments, and glorious deeds surpass description. On account of the proximity of their respective states, a number of letters and conferences passed between him and Abû 'l-Hasan Sinân Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Râshid ad-din, lord of the Ismailian fortresses, chief of the Bâtinites of Syria, and the person from whom the Sinanian sect took its name. At one time, Nûr ad-din was under the necessity of writing him a threatening letter, to which he received the following answer, in verse and prose :

“ O you who threaten us with the stroke of the sword ! may my power never rise again if once overthrown by thee ! A pigeon dares to threaten the hawk ! the hyenas of the desert are roused against the lions ! You stop the mouth of the serpent with your finger ; let the pain which has befallen thy finger suffice thee.

“ We have examined your letter in sum and in detail, and have appreciated in word and in deed the dangers with which it threatens us. Admire the fly buzzing in the ear of the elephant ! and the gnat which is counted as an emblem (*of littleness* ?) ! Already, before you, other people have held a similar discourse, but we hurled destruction upon them, and they had none to assist them ! Do you mean to oppose the truth and uphold falsehood ? They who act perversely shall know the fate which awaits them ! As for thy words, that thou wilt cut off my head and tear my fortresses from the firm mountains which sustain them, know that these are delusive thoughts, vain imaginations ; for the substance is not destroyed by the destruction of its accidents, neither is the soul dissolved by the maladies of the body. How wide the difference between strong and weak, between noble and vile ! But, to return to things external and sensible from things internal and intellectual, we shall say that we have an example in the blessed Prophet, by whom were pronounced these words : ‘ Never was a prophet afflicted as I have been ; ’ and you well know what befel his race, his family, and followers. Circumstances have not changed ; things are not altered ; and praise be unto God in the beginning and the end ! inasmuch as we are the oppressed, not the oppressors ; the offended, not the offenders ; but, when the truth cometh, false-

“hood disappears, for falsehood fleeteth away! You well know our external  
 “state, the character of our men, the sort of food for which they long,  
 “and for which they offer themselves to the abyss of death. *Say: wish then*  
*“for death if you speak true. But they will never wish for it on account of what*  
*“their hands have already wrought, and God well knoweth the perverse (3).* In a  
 “common and current proverb it is said: *Is a goose to be threatened with being*  
*“cast into the river?* Prepare therefore a tunic against misfortune and a cloak  
 “against affliction; for evils of thy own doing shall prevail against thee; thou  
 “shalt feel convinced that they proceeded from thyself, and that thou wert like  
 “the animal which scraped with its hoof till it found its death (4), and like  
 “him who cut off his nose with his own hand. To effect this will not be diffi-  
 “cult for God.” I transcribed this epistle from a copy in the handwriting of  
 al-Kādi ‘l-Fāḍil *vol. II. p. 414*, but, in another copy of the same document, I  
 found the following additional passage: “When thou hast read this our letter,  
 “expect to see us and be prepared; read also the commencement of the *Bee* and  
 “the end of *Sidd* (5).” (*Note.*) The truth is that this letter was addressed to  
 the sultan Salāh ad-din Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Aiyūb.—In other copies, I found the  
 following verse joined to those given above:

Let men beware of an event dreadful by its terrors, an event which I never heard  
 that any dare await.

• Another time, when a coldness arose between them, Sinān wrote him the fol-  
 lowing lines:

By our means you obtained this empire, so that your house was rooted in it, and its  
 columns were exalted; yet you shoot at us an arrow fashioned by ourselves; it grew in  
 our own plantations, and with us it received its point.

Of Nūr ad-din's conduct we shall only say, that it was adorned by many meri-  
 torious deeds. His birth took place on Sunday, the 17th of Shawwāl, A.H. 511  
 (February, A. D. 1118), at the hour of sunrise, and he died of a quinsy, on  
 Wednesday, the 11th of Shawwāl, A.H. 569 (May, A. D. 1174), in the citadel of  
 Damascus. His physicians advised blood-letting, but he refused, and such was  
 the awe which he inspired, that none dared to expostulate with him. He was  
 buried in the apartment of the citadel which served him as a sitting-room and

a bed-chamber. His corpse was subsequently removed to the mausoleum erected in the college which he had founded near the entrance of the Sūk al-Khawwāsin (*the bazar of the workers in palm-leaves*). I heard a number of the Damascus people say that prayers offered up at his tomb received their fulfilment, and having wished to prove the fact, I found it to be true. Our *shaiikh* Izz ad-dīn Abū 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Athīr (*vol. II. p. 288*) says, in his great historical work, the *Kāmil*, under the year 558, that Nūr ad-dīn having encamped, that year, in al-Bukaiya (*the little plain*) at the foot of Hisn al-Akrād (6), with the intention of besieging that fortress and then marching against Tripoli, a great number of Franks assembled and attacked him one day, unexpectedly, without giving the Moslems sufficient time to prepare for the encounter. His troops were put to flight, but he succeeded in making his escape. This combat is generally designated as the *Combat of al-Bukaiya*. Having halted at the lake of Kadas, near Emessa, at the distance of about four parasangs from the Franks, he sent to Aleppo and other cities for large sums of money, which enabled him to recruit his army. He then returned against the enemy and fully avenged his defeat. One of his companions having, at that time, observed to him that he might advantageously apply to his own use, under the present circumstances, the numerous pensions, alms, and gifts, allowed to the juriconsults, the *sūfis*, and the koran-readers, he flew into a violent passion, and said: "By Allah! I expect assistance from them and no others! *It is through the feeble among you that you receive sustenance and aid* (7). How could I possibly suspend the donations given to people who combat for me with arrows which miss not the mark, even when I am sleeping in my bed? and that for the purpose of bestowing them on persons who combat for me with arrows which sometimes strike and sometimes miss! Those people have a right to a share out of the public treasury; how then could I legally transfer that share to others?" Nūr ad-dīn was of a tawny complexion, a lofty stature, and a handsome countenance; he had no hair on any part of his face except the chin. He had designated as successor his son al-Malik as-Sālih Imād ad-dīn Ismā'il, a boy eleven years old, who in consequence succeeded to the supreme authority on his death, and removed from Damascus to Aleppo. He entered the citadel of that place on Friday, the first of Muharram, A. H. 570 (Aug. A. D. 1174), and the sultan Salāh ad-dīn then left Egypt and occupied Damascus and the other cities of Syria.

Al-Malik as-Sâlih retained Aleppo only, and he continued to reside there till his death. This event took place on Friday, the 25th of the first-Jumâda, A. H. 577 (October, A. D. 1184). It is said that he had not yet attained his twentieth year. His illness commenced on the 9th of Rajab, and, on the first day of the first Jumâda, he was attacked by a pain in the bowels. His death created a profound sensation and general regret, on account of his beneficence and his virtues. He was interred in the Station (*al-Makâm*), within the citadel, but his body was afterwards removed to the *ribât* (*monastery*) bearing his name and situated at the foot of the citadel. This *ribât* bears a high reputation in Aleppo.—Mujir ad-din Abek died, A. H. 564 (A. D. 1168-9), in Baghdad, and was interred in his own house; so I found it written among some rough notes in my own handwriting; but God knows if the indication be correct. He was born at Baalbek on Friday, the 8th of Shaabân, A. H. 534 (March, A. D. 1140).

(1) Such is the correct pronunciation of this name, which has been incorrectly transcribed *Dakâk* in the life of Tutush. See vol. I. pp. 273 and 274.

(2) Koran, sûrat 2, verse 24.

(3) Koran, sûrat 2, verses 87, 88. The words, five lines higher up, *but when truth cometh, etc.*, are taken from the same book, sûrat 17, verse 83.

(4) An Arab caught a gazelle and sought an instrument to kill it. The animal, in struggling, scraped up the sand with its foot and laid bare a knife; with this the Arab put it to death. See Freytag's *Maidani*, tom. II. p. 339.

(5) The *Bee*, the 16th sûrat of the Koran, begins thus: "The sentence of God will surely come to be executed!" and *Sâd*, the 38th sûrat, concludes with these words: "And ye shall surely know what is delivered therein to be true, after a season."

(6) Hisn al-Akrâd (*the Castle of the Kurds*) was situated on a peak of Mount Lebanon, half way between Tripoli and Emessa.

(7) This is one of Muhammad's sayings. D'Ohsson has quoted it in his *Tab. gén. de l'Emp. Oth.*, t. II. page 242.

## MARWAN IBN ABI HAFSA.

Abû 's-Simt, or Abû 'l-Hindâm, Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa Sulaimân Ibn Yahya Ibn Abi Hafsa Yazid, a celebrated poet, was the grandson of Abû Hafsa, a



*maula* of Marwân Ibn al-Hakam Ibn Abî 'l-Aâsi the Omaiyyide. Abû Hafsa's master granted him his freedom on the *Day of the House* (1), to recompense him for the courage which he displayed on that occasion. It is said that Abû Hafsa was a Jewish physician, and that he made his profession of Islamism to Othmân Ibn Affân, or, by another account, to Marwân Ibn al-Hakam. The people of Medîna say, however, that he was a *maula* to as-Samûel Ibn Aâdiya, the Jew so famous for his good faith, and whose conduct with respect to Amro 'l-Kais Ibn Hujr, the well-known poet, acquired him such celebrity (2). They state also that Abû Hafsa was made prisoner, when a boy, at the capture of Istakhar, and that Othmân Ibn Affân, who purchased him, gave him as a present to Marwân Ibn al-Hakam. Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa, the poet of whom we are about to speak, was a native of al-Yamâma (in Arabia). Having proceeded to Baghdad, he celebrated the praises of (the *khalifs*) al-Mahdi and Hârûn ar-Rashid, and he conciliated the favour of the latter by satirizing the descendants of Ali. He was a good poet, and ranked with the first and the ablest masters in that art. Abû 'l-Abbâs Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (vol. II. p. 44) mentions him in the *Tabakât as-Shu'arâ* and says: "The best piece uttered by Marwân is his brilliant *kasîda* rhyming in l (*al-Lâmiya*), composed by him in honour of Maan Zâida as-Shaibânî (3); by this production he surpassed all the poets of his time. It is said that he received from Maan, in recompense, a very large sum, of which the amount is not specified, and that none of the former poets ever gained so much by their art as he. On one occasion, he was presented, by a certain khalif, with three hundred thousand pieces of silver for a single verse." His *kasîda*, the *Lâmiya*, contains upwards of sixty verses, and, were it not so long, I should insert it here. I cannot, however, omit the following extract from the eulogistic portion of the poem:

In the day of battle, the sons of Matar (4) are like lions (*protecting*) their whelps in the valley of Khaffâp (5). 'Tis they who defend their clients, and their clients (*live as secure from danger*) as if they were lodged among the stars. (*Maan*) avoids pronouncing the word 'no'; when he is asked a favour, 'no' seems to be for him a word forbidden. We confound his conduct in the day of battle with his conduct in the day of beneficence (6), so that we know not which is the fairer: is it the day of his overflowing beneficence? is it the day of his prowess? Nay, each of them is brilliant and glorious! Noble princes they are in islamic times; and their oldest progenitors had no rivals in the ancient days of paganism. They are the people who execute when they promise, who answer when called on, and who give in abundance when they bestow. The

bravest warriors cannot achieve such deeds as theirs (7), even though they displayed the greatest firmness under the vicissitudes of fortune. Three (*chiefs they are*) whose foreheads are equal to the mountains (*in majesty*), and whose prudence would outweigh them.

This is certainly *lovely magic* (8), exquisite both in style and thought! he really deserves to be ranked not only above the poets his contemporaries, but above many others besides. His eulogiums on Maan, and the elegies which he composed on his death, abound with striking ideas. Of these pieces we shall give specimens in the life of Maan. Ibn al-Motazz states also that the following anecdote was related by Shurāhil, the son of Maan: "I met Yahya Ibn Khālid the Barmekide, on the road to Mekka, whither he was going to perform the pilgrimage with the *kādi* Abū Yūsuf al-Hanafi (9). He was borne in a *kubba* (10), being seated in one side of it, and Abū Yūsuf in the other. I was riding by the side of the *kubba* when a well-dressed Arab of the tribe of Āsad came forward and recited to Yahya a piece of verse. One line of the poem excited Yahya's animadversion, and he exclaimed: 'Did I not forbid thee, man! to employ a verse such as that?' He then added: 'O brother of the sons of Āsad! when thou utterest verses, let them be like the verses of him who said: *In the day of battle, the sons of Matar*, etc., repeating the *Lāmīya* just mentioned. The *kādi* Abū Yūsuf expressed great admiration on hearing the verses, and said to Yahya: 'Tell me, Abū 'l-Fadl, who was the author of that piece.' Yahya replied: 'It was composed by Marwān Ibn Abi Hafsa in praise of the father of the youth now riding by the side of our *kubba*.' I was then mounted on a spirited horse which belonged to me, and Abū Yūsuf gazed at me and said: 'Who art thou, young man? May God favour thee and prolong thy life!' I replied: 'I am Shurāhil, the son of Maan Ibn Zāida as-Shailāni.' And I declare, by Allah! that I never felt such pleasure and satisfaction as at that moment."—It is related that a son of Marwān Ibn Hafsa went to visit Shurāhil, the son of Maan, and recited to him these lines:

Shurāhil, son of Maan (11), son of Zāida! most generous of men, Arabs or foreigners! Thy father gave mine wealth enough for his subsistence; give me as much as thy father gave to mine. My father never stopped in a country where thy father was, but he received from him a talent of gold.

Shurāhil immediately bestowed on him a talent of gold.—An anecdote similar

to the foregoing is related of Abū Mulaika Jarwal Ibn Aūs, generally known by the appellation of al-Hutaiya (*vol. I. p. 209*): this celebrated poet having been imprisoned by (*the khalif*) Omar Ibn al-Khattāb for the virulence of his tongue and his propensity to satire, he addressed the following lines to Omar from the place of his confinement:

What wilt thou say to the famished nestlings in the parched and barren Zū Marakh (12). Thou hast cast their purveyor into a dungeon; have pity! and the blessing of God be upon thee, O Omar! Thou art the *imām* to whom the people, on the death of its master, confided the keys of authority (13). When they raised thee to that post, it was not for thy own advantage, but for theirs.

Omar then set him free, on condition that he would abstain from satire, and al-Hutaiya said to him: "Commander of the faithful! give me a letter for Al-kama Ibn Olātha, since thou hast hindered me from gaining a livelihood by my verses."—Alkama, a man celebrated for his beneficence, was then residing in the province of Haurān: Ibn al-Kalbi (14) says, in his *Jamhara tan-Nisab*: "Alkama was the son of Olātha Ibn Aūf Ibn Rabia Ibn Jaafar Ibn Kilāb Ibn Rabia Ibn Aāmīr Ibn Sāsāa Ibn Moawia Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawāzin. His ancestor Rabia Ibn Jaafar was surnamed *al-Ahras* (*narrow eye*) on account of the smallness of his eyes. Alkama had been appointed governor of Haurān by Omar (15), and he died there."—Omar refused to grant al-Hutaiya's request, but a person having said to him: "Commander of the faithful! it can do you no harm to give him a letter; Alkama is not one of your provincial governors; that you should fear to incur censure (16). Consider that this is a Moslim who requests a recommendation from you to Alkama." Omar having then written a letter conformable to al-Hutaiya's wishes, the poet set off with it, but found, on his arrival, that Alkama was dead, and met the people returning from the funeral. Seeing Alkama's son among them, he went up to him and recited these lines:

O how excellent that man of the family of Jaafar in Haurān whom yestereven death entangled in its toils! Whilst thou livest, I shall not be weary of my life; wert thou to die, life were joyless for me; and, if I meet thee in good health, a few days only separate me from riches.

Alkama's son here said to him: "How much dost thou think that my father

“ would have given thee, hadst thou found him alive?” — “ One hundred female camels,” replied the poet, “ each of them followed by a young one.” The other bestowed on him the expected present. I found the two last verses in the *diwân* of Zîâd Ibn Moawia Ibn Jâbir, surnamed an-Nâbigha ad-Dubyânî (17); they occur in an elegy composed by him on the death of an-Nomân Ibn Abi Shamir al-Ghassâni (18).—The adventures of Ibn Abi-Hafsa and the anecdotes told of him are very numerous, but it is needless to dilate on the subject. His birth took place in the year 105 (A. D. 723-4), and his death in A. H. 181 (A. D. 797) — some say, 182 — at Baghdad. He was interred in the cemetery of Nasr Ibn Mâlik al-Khuzâi.—His grandson, Marwân al-Asghar (*the younger*) Abû 's-Simt the son of Abû 'l-Junûb, the son of Marwân al-Akbar (*the elder*), him of whom we have just spoken, was one of the most celebrated and eminent poets of his time. Al-Mubarrad (*v. III. p. 34*), in his *Kâmil*, gives a short notice on Abd ar-Rahmân, the son of Hassân Ibn Thâbit (19), in which he says: “ It is related that Abd ar-Rahmân, having been stung by a wasp, went crying to his father, who asked what was the matter. He replied: ‘ I have been stung by a flying thing, dressed, as it were, in a double cloak of striped cloth.’ — ‘ By Allah!’ exclaimed the father, ‘ thou hast there pronounced a verse (20).’ ” — He then adds: “ The family which had the greatest skill in poetry was that of Hassân, for it produced six persons, in succession, all of them poets; these were: Said, his father Abd ar-Rahmân, his father Hassân, his father Thâbit, his father al-Mundir, and his father Ilizâm. After them came the family of Abû Hafsa, the members of which inherited a talent for poetry, from father to son. Yahya, the son of Abû Hafsa (*the elder*), was surnamed Abû Jamil; his mother, Tahya, was the daughter of Mainûn, or, according to another statement, of an-Nâbigha al-Jaadi (*vol. I. p. 456*); and to this circumstance is attributed the transmission of a faculty for poetry into the family of Abû Hafsa. All these persons could touch the point of their nose with their tongue, and this denotes a talent for speaking with elegance and precision.” God knows how far that may be true!

(1) By the Day of the House (*Yaum ad-Dâr*) is meant the day in which the khalif Othmân was murdered. He had shut himself up in his house and sustained a siege of fifty or sixty days, but the insurgents finally broke in and put him to death. Marwân Ibn al-Hakam, with al-Hasan and al-Husain, the sons of Ali, assisted

by a body of slaves, fought in Othmân's defence, but their efforts were unavailing. The injudicious counsels of Marwân, who had great influence over Othmân, were the cause of this revolt.

(2) See Rasmussen's *Addimenta ad Hist. Ar.* p. 14; Abû 'l-Feddâ, *Hist. Antislamica*, p. 133, and Freitag's Maidani, t. II. p. 828.

(3) His life will be found in this volume.

(4) Matar was one of Maan's ancestors.

(5) Khaffân, a place near Kôfa, was noted for being infested by lions.

(6) Literally: his two days are so like each other that we confound them.

(7) Literally: the doers cannot do their deeds.

(8) Poetry is called by the Arabs *lawful magic*.

(9) His life is given in this work.

(10) The vehicle here called a *Kubba* (*dome, cupola, alcove*) consisted apparently of two seats, one on each side of a camel, and both seats under the same canopy.

(11) In this verse we must read شراحيل بن to obtain the measure.

(12) Literally: to the nestlings with red crops in the waterless and treeless Zû Marakh.

(13) Literally: of prohibitions.

(14) The life of this celebrated genealogist is given by our author.

(15) This is in direct contradiction with what follows, unless we suppose his nomination to have taken place subsequently to the anecdote here related.

(16) Rigid Moslems might have blamed him for causing Alkama to spend the public money on al-Hutaiya.

(17) For a notice on this ancient poet, see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. II. p. 412.

(18) This is the twenty-fifth person in Pococke's list of the Ghassânite kings. The poem of an-Nâbigha to which these verses belong is to be found in the *Diwan of the Six Poets*. It is there given as an elegy on the death of an-Nomân Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Abi Shamir al-Ghassâni.

(19) Hassân Ibn Thâbit was one of the poets who espoused the cause of Muhammad. His son Abd ar-Rahmân lived under Moawîa, and used to address complimentary poems to Raula, the daughter of that khalif. Abd ar-Rahmân was inferior in talent to his father.

(20) The Arabic words uttered by the child do not appear to form a verse, as they cannot be scanned by any metrical scale.

## MUSLIM IBN AL-HAJJAJ.

Abû 'l-Husain Muslim Ibn al-Hajjâj Ibn Muslim Ibn Ward Ibn Kûsâd (1) al-Kushairi, a native of Naisâpûr and the author of the *Sahîh* (2), was a most eminent *hâfiz* and a highly distinguished traditionist. He travelled (*in pursuit of learning*) to Hijâz, Irâk, Syria, and Egypt, and heard Traditions delivered by Yahya Ibn Yahya an-Naisâpûri (3), Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p. 44*), Ishak Ibn

Rāhwaih (*vol. I. p. 480*), Abd' Allah Ibn Maslama al-Kaanabi (*vol. II. p. 49*), and other great masters. He visited Baghdad more than once, and the people of that city delivered Traditions on his authority. He went there for the last time in the year 259 (A. D. 872-3). At-Tirmidi (*vol. II. p. 679*) was one of those who taught Traditions on his authority; and, as a trustworthy Traditionist, he bore the highest character. Muhammad Ibn al-Māsarkhasi states that he heard Muslim Ibn al-Hajjāj say: "I drew up this *authentic musnad* (4) (*al-Musnad as-Sahih*) out of three hundred thousand Traditions (which I) heard (with my own ears)." "There is not under the expanse of heaven," said the *hafiz* Abū Ali an-Naisāpūri (5), "a more authentic work on the science of Traditions than that of Muslim." Al-Khatib al-Baghdādī (*vol. I. page 47*) mentions that Muslim defended al-Bukhārī (*vol. II. p. 594*) so strenuously that the intimacy between himself and Muhammad Ibn Yahya ad-Duhli (6) was broken off. The *hafiz* Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yakūb (7) relates (*this event*) thus: "When al-Bukhārī was residing at Naisāpūr, Muslim went frequently to see him: a misintelligence then arose between Muhammad Ibn Yahya and al-Bukhārī on the subject of the pronunciation (*of the Koran*) (8), and Muhammad caused a proclamation to be made against his adversary, forbidding the people to frequent his society. This persecution forced al-Bukhārī to quit Naisāpūr, and every person avoided him, except Muslim, who continued his visits as before. Muhammad Ibn Yahya being then informed that Muslim Ibn al-Hajjāj had always adhered to the opinion of al-Bukhārī and did so still, notwithstanding the censures which he had incurred on that account in Hijāz and Irāk, he said, one day, at the close of his lesson: 'Whoever holds the pronunciation (*of the Koran*) to be created, I forbid that person to attend my lessons.' Muslim immediately passed his cloak (*ridā*) over his turban, and standing up in the midst of the assembly, he left the room. Having then collected all the notes which he had taken at Muhammad Ibn Yahya's lessons, he loaded some camels with them and sent them to the latter's door. This confirmed the misunderstanding which subsisted between them, and Muslim ceased to visit him." Muslim died at Naisāpūr, on Sunday evening, and was interred at Nasrābād, outside Naisāpūr, on Monday, the 25th—some say the 24th—of Rajab, A. H. 264 (May, A. D. 875), aged fifty-five years. So I found it written in some book, but I never met with his age or the

date of his birth specified by any of the *hâfizs*, though they all agree that he was born subsequently to the year 200. Our *shaikh* Taki ad-dîn Abû Amr Othmân, generally known by the appellation of Ibn as-Salâh (*vol. II. p. 188*), used to mention the date of his birth, which, to the best of my recollection, was in the year 202. I have since examined Ibn as-Salâh's statement and find the date to be 206 (A.D. 821-2); he gives it after the *Kitâb Olamâ il-Amsâr* (*history of the doctors of the great cities*), a work composed by the *hâkim* Ibn al-Bâli an-Naisâpûri (*vol. II. p. 684*). I met with the book from which he took this indication, and obtained the very copy which he made use of; it had belonged to him, and was sold, with his other property, after his death. It then fell into my possession. Here is what the author says: "Muslim Ibn al-Hajjâj an-Naisâpûri died on the 25th of Rajab, A.H. 261, aged fifty-five years." His birth must have therefore taken place in 206. — We have already explained the word *Kushairi* in our article on Abd al-Karim al-Kushairi (*vol. II. p. 155*), the author of the *Epistle*, and need not, therefore, repeat our words. — As for the Muhammad Ibn Yahya, mentioned above, his names were Abû Abd Allah Muhamamad Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khâlid Ibn Fâris Ibn Duwaib ad-Duhli an-Naisâpûri (*belonging to the tribe of Duhl, native of Naisâpûr*). He was highly distinguished as a *hâfiz*, and Traditions were given on his authority by al-Bukhârî, Muslim, Abû Dâwûd (*vol. I. page 589*), at-Tirmidi, and Ibn Mâja al-Kazwîni (*vol. II. p. 680*). He was a sure and trustworthy Traditionist. The coolness which subsisted between him and al-Bukhârî originated from the following circumstance: when the latter arrived at Naisâpûr, Muhammad Ibn Yahya quarrelled with him about the creation of the pronunciation. As al-Bukhârî had already learned Traditions from him, he could not avoid giving them on his authority; this he does in about thirty places of his book, in the chapters on fasting, medicine, burials, and enfranchisement, but without giving his name in full; he merely says: *I was told by Muhammad*, or by *Muhammad the son of Abd Allah*, thus naming him after his grandfather, or by *Muhammad the son of Khâlid*, after his great-grandfather. Muhammad Ibn Yahya died, A.H. 252 (A.D. 886), some say, 257 or 258.

1) One of the MSS. reads *Kāshād* and another *Kāshyār*.

(2) The *Sahih* (*true, authentic*) is a title by which is designated each of the six great collections of Traditions. To distinguish them, the name of the author is added after the word *Sahih*.

(3) Abū Zakariyā Yahya Ibn Yahya Ibn Bakr al-Hanzali at-Tamimi, a native of Naisāpūr, distinguished for his piety and mortified life, was considered as the first Traditionist and *hāfiz* of that age in Khorāsān. He died A. H. 226 (A. D. 840-1).—(*An-Nujūm az-Zāhira; Mirāt az-Zamān*.)

(4) The meaning of the word *musnad* is explained in vol. I. p. 182.

(5) The Traditionist Abū Ali al-Husain Ibn Ali an-Naisāpūri bore a high reputation for learning and piety. He inhabited Baghdad and died in the month of the first Jumāda, A. H. 311 Oct. A. D. 932, aged sixty-four years. (*Tabakāt al-Huffāz*.)

(6) A notice on this person is given by our author at the end of the present article.

(7) The *hāfiz* Abū Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yakūb as-Shaibāni, a native of Naisāpūr and an able Traditionist, died A. H. 344 (A. D. 955-6), aged ninety-four years.—(*Huffāz*.)

(8) The orthodox Muslims consider the Koran to be uncreated, and the eternal word of God. This opinion has been expressed by some of their doctors in the following manner: "The Koran is one of the eternal attributes of His essence; it is uncreated, and consists neither of letters nor of vocal sounds." These last words are evidently directed against an opinion held by certain theologians, such as Muhammad Ibn Yahya, who declared that whoever pretends the Koran to be created is an infidel, and *whoever pretends that the act of pronouncing the Koran is a created act*, is also an infidel. Al-Bukhārī taught that the *pronunciation* of the Koran (meaning its utterance by the organs of speech) is created, because, said he, it is an act of God's creature, and such acts are created (*not eternal*). In a work advocating the Asharite principle of giving a figurative interpretation to such passages of the Koran as would lead to anthropomorphism if taken literally, the author, Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Muallim, has a long discussion on the foregoing question. His work is entitled *Najm al-Mubtadi wa Rajm al-Motadi*. See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds St. Germain, No. 85. It may be here observed that this MS. has been corrected by the author. The question of the pronunciation of the Koran is technically called *mas'ala tal-lafz*.

## KUTB AD-DIN AN-NAISAPURI.

Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Masūd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Masūd Ibn Tāhir an-Naisāpūri at-Turaithithi, a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect and surnamed Kutb ad-din *axis of religion*, studied jurisprudence at Naisāpūr and at Marw, under the first masters in these cities. He learned Traditions from a number of teachers and had the advantage of seeing the *ustād* (*master*) Abū Nasr al-Kushairi (*vol. II. p. 154*). He gave lessons in the *Nizāmiya* college of Naisāpūr as substitute of Abū 'l-Ma'ālī 'l-Juwāini (*vol. II. p. 120*), under whose father (*vol. II. p. 27*) he had studied the Koran and polite literature. Having visited Baghdad, he delivered pious exhortations there, and discussed, with great ability, various questions



of jurisprudence. In the year 540 (A. D. 1145-6), he went to Damascus and preached there with great effect; he taught also in the *Mujallidiya* college, and afterwards, in the western corner (1) of the great mosque, on the death of the doctor Abū 'l-Fath Nasr Allāh al-Missisi (2). The *hafiz* Ibn Asākir (vol. II. p. 252) mentions him in the History of Damascus. Having then proceeded to Aleppo, Kutb ad-din professed for some time in the two colleges founded there by Nūr ad-din Mahmūd (vol. II. page 346) and Asād ad-din Shirkūh (vol. I. p. 626). He subsequently went to profess at Hamadān, whence he returned to Damascus and resumed his lessons in the Western Corner. He delivered Traditions also and became president of the Shafite community. He was conspicuous for learning, virtue, and piety. His summary of jurisprudence, the *Hādī* (*director*) is a useful treatise, and every maxim which it contains has served as the basis of a legal decision. He drew up for the sultan Salāh ad-din an *akīda* (*creed*) containing every necessary information on religious matters, and this work (the sultan) taught his children, so that it was impressed on their youthful minds. Bahā ad-din Ibn Shaddād (3) says in his life of that prince (4): "I saw 'him'"—meaning the sultan—"holding the book whilst his children repeated 'to him the contents from memory.'" Kutb ad-din was a man of great humility, careless in his dress, and a despiser of ceremony. His birth took place on the 13th of Rajab, A. H. 505 (January, A. D. 1112), and he died at Damascus on the 30th of Ramadān, A. H. 578 (January, A. D. 1185). The funeral prayer was said over him on the Day of the Festival (the 1st of the following month), which fell on a Friday. He was interred in the cemetery established by himself at the west end of Damascus, near the Sūfi Cemetery. I visited his tomb more than once. His father belonged to *Turathith*. Of this place we have already spoken in the life of Amid al-Mulk al-Kunduri (vol. III. p. 297); it is situated in the district of Naisāpūr. One of his disciples mentioned that he heard the *shaikh* Kutb ad-din recite these verses as the composition of some other person:

They say that love is a fire in the bosom; they lie! fire blazes and is extinguished.  
Love is a firebrand touched by moisture; it dieth not, neither doth it blaze up.

(1) In Arabic, *az-Zāwiya al-Gharbiya*. These words should perhaps be rendered by the western cloister.

(2) Abū 'l-Fath Nasr Allāh Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Kawī al-Missisi (*native of Missis*), a descendant of



















